THE

HISTORY

OFTHE

REVOLUTIONS

IN

ENGLAND

UNDERTHE

Family of the STUARTS, From the Year 1603, to 1690.

In THREE BOOKS;

Wherein are contained many Secret Memoirs relating to that FAMILY, and the last Great REVOLUTION, Anno 1688.

By F. J. D'ORLEANS, of the Society of Jesus.

Translated from the French Original Printed at Paris.

To which is prefixed,

An Introduction to this History,
By LAURENCE ECHARD, M. A.

Arch-Deacon of Stome.

The Second Edition.

LONDON:

Printed for E. Curli, against Catherine Street in the Strand; and R. Gosling, at the Middle Temple Gate. 1722. Price 55.

TOTHE

Most Sacred Majesty

OF

LEWIS the XIV, &c.

SIR,

Dedicate this History of the RE-VOLUTIONS of England to Tour Majesty. It was no Failure in Your Majesty, that the last of them was not prevented. Had Your Advice been sollow'd, and Your Succours

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accepted of, the King of England had been still on his Throne.

That Prince is inexcusable, for having bad Regard to the nice Temper of His People; who look'd upon Your Alliance with a jealous Eye, because of Your Religion, and Power. But Your Generofity, Sir, is Great; in that You have undertaken to defend Him, at a Time when His Misfortunes had deprived His Courage and Bravery of any other Support. Your Majesty, in this History, will behold the Justice of the Cause You maintain; which is the very Cause of that same Religion, that renders You fo formidable to those who attack the Church; whose only Support You now are against so many Enemies, who have drawn Her own Children into a Confederacy against Her, under Colour of unting them against You. To speak in the Scripture Phrase, They are the Battles of the Lord You have fought so long, not the

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the King of England's, nor Your own; and the continual Success God has bless'd You with, sufficiently testifies it.

In a fix Years War, wherein Your Majesty bas all Europe to deal with, Your invincible Power has added whole Provinces, and impregnable Fortresses to Your Conquests; among which Mons and Namur, taken by Your Self in Person, and in the Sight of One Hundred Thousand Men that should have reliev'd them, might suffice to render a Reign Commendable and Glorious. The Battles of Fleurus, of Staffarde, of Stenkerque, of Nerwinde, of Marfaille, and that which has begun this Campaign in Catalonia; not to mention many other Ingagements, wherein Your Arms have always preserv'd their Superiority over those of Your Enemies; are Successes Heaven's most Favourite Monarchies have not seen in several Ages: The Sea, after affording You one fignal Victory,

Victory, and so many other Advantages over the Confederate Fleets, has disappointed You but once, to teach the Nation, that some Regard is to be had to Numbers, and that Hercules himself cannot encounter Two at the same Time.

Bating that Accident, wherein can the Confederates boast they have worsted You? Tour Majesty had but one Enemy more to fear, and God bas now deliver'd You from bim. Your People was threaten'd with a Scarcity, which afflicted the Poor, and consequently your tender Heart. Heaven bas granted to Your Vows such a plentiful Tear, as may make amends for the Barrenness of many. This fresh Blessing from Above, is to Your Majesty an Assurance of many more, and the more certain, in Regard of the Acknowledgments Tou have made; we have but now comply'd with it, in rendering our Thanks to God. Were the Subjects of the Confederate Princes so dear to them as Tours

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Yours are to You, we should have offer'd up our Thanks to God for a Peace, infead of doing of it for Your latter Victories. Your Majesty sacrific'd to it as many Conquests, as would have cost Your Enemies many Campaigns, even if they were successful. The Lord, Sir, will scatter the Nations that are for War; but You shall Triumph, and we will lift up our Hands to Heaven, that it may continue to shower down its Blessings on Your Arms, whose Prosperity no Man wishes more, than he who is more respectfully, and more devotedly, than any other,

SIR,

Your Majesty's most humble,

and most obedient Servant,

and Loyal Subject,

Paris, Anno

F. J. D'Orleans.

The Reader is desir'd to take Notice, That this Translation is strictly render'd from the Original, without any the least Addition, Diminution, or Alteration.

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This HISTORY,

By LAURENCE ECHARD, M. A. and Prebendary of Lincoln.

HERE is a Natural Curiolity in most
Men to know what is said of them and
their Affairs by Strangers and Foreigners; especially if it be by Persons of

great Parts and Knowledge, among whom the Author of this HISTORY has always been accounted. This is eafily discernible by almost any Reader, who will soon discover great Art and Dexterity, and no less Subtlety and Penetration in this Writer. And it is sufficiently known, that he had very great Advantages as to his Information and Intelligence in this Period, which consists of much the greatest Part of a Century, namely, of the Reign of Four Kings, of the same Family of the STUARTS. Within the compass of less than sifty Years of it, we find greater Varieties, and more wonderful Changes, than ever happen'd in England for Five Hundred Years before. All which is here judiciously

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compriz'd in a moderate Volume with no less Perspicuity than Strictness, and with a beautiful Mixture of short Characters, niceReflections, and notable Sentences, which render the whole fo agreeable and instructive, that it is justly presum'd the Translation cou'd not be unacceptable to an

Englif Reader. But while that Reader is entertained with fo much Skill and Fineness, we ought to caution him with relation to the Education and Religion of the Author. For tho' he has great Marks of a generous Candor, and a laudable Deference to all Superiours, yet he is to be confider'd in all Places, as one in favour with the French King, and not only a true Papift, but a compleat Fesuit. So that we are to look upon him, not only as a Difapprover of our mixt Monarchy, but a direct Oppofer of the Establishment of the Church of England; which he feems to regard with an Eye of Envy and likewise Contempt, and shews no greater Esteem for the Orthodoxy of the English Fpile pal Men, than for the worst of our Sectaries. With this Caution we may better judge of his Impartiality, which in general may deferve Commendation, notwithstanding his mistaken Opinions: And when we know that he was a profess'd Enemy to all Protestants, however denominated, whatever he fays concerning the Religion of our Kings and great Ministers of State is more to be valu'd and regarded.

But to come to some Particulars, -- The Account and Character he gives of King James the First, seems very just, with some small Allowances, where his Understanding and Management appear in better and fairer Colours than in some of our own common Writers. His Wissom has of late Years been more called in question than formerly: But the Person who is utterly prejudiced against it, if he will not believe the last Page in Bishop

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Spotswood's History, may be pleas'd to look into the 2d Volume of Rushworth's Collections, (Pag. 472) and he will find something that may either convence or surprize him. What this Author says concerning his Religion (in the 5th, 10th, and 12th Pages) is curious and plausible; for in the latter Part of his Reign, he made several Shews of a Tendency towards Popery. But at the same time, in Justice we ought not to omit a Passage in the 1st Volume of Rushworth, (Page 115) where, upon his Deathbed he carefully advis'd the Prince his Son, to Love bis Wife, but not ber Religion: And this his Son afterwards in sisted on, in a particular Message to his first Parliament then sitting at Oxford.

But whatever Opinions there might be of King James's private Dispositions towards Popery, this Author clears his Son King Charles from all Intentions of promoting it, and fays, That nothing was more falfe than that Accusation; for be was a Protestant by Inclination, and never lov'd the Catholicks, (Page 22.) where he fpeaks artfully in relation to the Queen, whose Conduct and Influence might indeed create some Suspicion. He likewife declares him a perfect Protestant in other Places, and ftrongly confirms what render'd him most estimable to the true Sons of the Church, his inviolable Adherence to Episcopacy. He speaks with Severity enough upon that Occasion, but owns, It was the only Point which decided the Fate of that unfortunate Prince. And like a Man True in History, tho' Erroneous in Opinion, he says, That at the Same Time he Suffer'd the true Episcopacy of Fesus Christ to be banish'd, he became a Martyr to that extravagant Phantom rais'd by King Henry the Eighth, &c. This from the Mouth of an opposite Zealot, is an Honour to the Memory of the King, who abroad was accounted the Bulwark of the English Church; wherefore his strange Fate and Death were highly pleasing to the Church, as well as Court of Rome. Then

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Then for the King's celebrated Book call'd Eikon Bafilike, about which there has been fo many Disputes, this Author has no manner of doubt of its being Genuine, but always looks upon it as the real Product of the King's own retired Thoughts. But for the Value and Excellency of that Work, the Author's extorted Acknowledgment of it, particularly in the 104th Page, is enough to shame the Endeavours of several late Libellers, who when they were not fufficiently able to prove it spurious, have gone about to prove it worthless. But because the Genuineness of that Work has been question'd by several confiderable Men, by reason of the assuming Forwardness of Bishop Gauden, the Credulity of the two Royal Brothers, and the Silence of our Noble Historian, * we shall refer the Reader only to the Answer to Mr. Toland's Amyntor, written by Mr. Wagfaff. This Piece was never yet answer'd; and we dare venture to say, that it is sufficient to convince the Fair and Rational, and that there is a new Edition design d, that will either fatisfy or filence the most Obstinate.

As to the King's more general Character, which may be seen, Pag. 10, &c. our Author seems very judicious and impartial, but is not so full as might have been expected in a larger Volume. He freely owns his Errors and Oversights; but in several Parts of this History it appears that his Faults were generally quite contrary to those which his Enemies generally charg'd upon him; and that those which brought about his Missortune, were not Stiffness and Obstinacy, and a Desire of Arbitrary Power and Tyranny, as they usually alledg'd: But what principally ruin'd him was his good Nature and Concessions, and his unseasonable Tendernessin Case of Blood. Therefore this Author says, It was his peculiar Fault ne-

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^{*} Lord Clarendon.

this HISTORY.

ver to make use of necessary Extreams before he had made trial of several useless Precautions. In another Place he freely declares, it was hard to decide, Who had the greatest Cause to Blush, whether the King for always granting what soever his Subjects in solently demanded, or bis Subjects for continually demanding that which their King was compell'd to grant. He intimates also upon the same Occasion, as if this Prince's Fate had taught the World, That there is a Mean even in Virtue, and that it is dangerous for a King to be too good. Had the King been fuch as his Enemies have represented him, he wou'd have eafily prevented their fatal Infults and Injuries: and had he had but the least Inclination to Blood, by opening a few Veins at first, he might have fav'd a Deluge. War was the farthest from his Thoughts: And if any still doubt of this Truth, and will not believe the Lord Clarendon, as an impartial Historian, he may be pleas'd to confult and receive Satisfaction from the old Earl of Briffol's Apology; who having met both with Difobligations and Hardships from the Court, cannot be suppos'd to have been prejudic'd on the King's Side.

But for the Beginning of our Troubles, which first arose in Scotland, that the French, or rather Cardinal Richelien, had a great Stroke in them, is freely acknowledg'd by our Author, who gives a plaufible Account of that Affair, which we prefume is New to the English Reader, and very much to the Honour of the Royal Martyr. And tho' many of the English Papists did signalize themselves for their Loyalty, yet we have great Reason to believe that their Party was too deeply engag'd in the future Calamities of the Nation; and that there were more Papists concern'd in the Parliament-Army, than the King's, appears from his Majesty's own Declaration after the Battel at Edgebill, which is not mention'd in this Author. And Salmonet, a Popish Priest,

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who wrote a History of our Wars in the French. Tongue, says of this Fight, That, which most surprized every one, was, that they found among the

Dead at Edge-hill several Popish Priests.

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To speak a Word or two as to the other Characters in the two first Books of this History, such as the Duke of Buckingham, Archbishop Land, the Earl of Strafford, the Protector Cromwell, General Monck, &c. our Author, tho' in Miniature, has drawn them with a mafterly Pencil. He feems happily to have hit their Features, or at least skilfully to have shown his own Art. Contrary to the Outcries of the King's Enemies, he clears Land and Strafford from being Papists, or rather accuses them for being intire Protestants: But he does not the same as to Buckingham, who he fays was well inclin'd towards the true Faith, notwithstanding the Looseness of his Life. What he fays concerning Cromwell and Monck is worthy of Note and Attention, as likewise his Account of that wonderful Revolution, the Restauration. This concludes the fecond Book, and also a regular and lively History of the Transactions of England for at least twenty Years, besides preliminary Affairs of a longer Space of Time. All which, with some forehinted Precautions, may be very useful as well as entertaining to all English Readers.

The third and last Book, tho' it takes in many Years of the Reign of King Charles II. consists principally of the last famous Revolution (1688) in England; which is beautifully represented with all its remote Steps and nearer Gradations. This seems to have been the main Design of the whole; and the Reader will easily perceive, that the Religion and the Cause here espous'd, must have put a considerable Byass upon the Author, and thrown him under stronger Temptations to Partiality in this Book, than in the two former;

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this HISTORY.

wherefore it ought to be read with the greater Caution, by those who have less Experience. But of this the less needs to be said, because there are not many English Men of any Years or Experience, but what can judge of the greatest Part of it. Yet still there are several Things that will probably gratify, if not wholly satisfy the

Inclinations of the most curious.

What he fays concerning the Religion of King Charles the Second, is remarkable and probable, tho' ftill doubted by many confiderable Men. In the 236th Page he fays, He was no good Christian in his Actions, but a Catholick in his Heart. And afterwards he says he dy'd in be Bosom of the Catholick Church, which he did not live in, because of his natural Love of Ease, and for fear of interrupting his Pleasures. This may be thought a peculiar Reafon, which will bear a double Meaning; yet it shews the Belief of the Author, who has several short and subtle Reflections upon the King, particularly when speaking of the Popish Plot, he fays, He counterfeited a Credulity, which was made use of to the committing of much Injustice. In the Marriage between the Prince of Orange and the Princess Mary, which prov'd of so great Importance, he tells us, that the Duke of Tork her Father did all he could to obstruct the Match; and that the King his Brother, being impos'd upon by the Earl of Danby and Sir William Temple, concluded it without his Privity. This, tho obliquely and invidiously represented, will really be thought an Honour to those two great Men; and the former of them has lately declar'd in Print, * That he will not suffer that part of his Services to be bury'd in Oblivion.

As to the short Reign of the last King James, the Reader will see in the Preface and the Book, a finer Apology for that unfortunate Prince than

his

^{*} Vide Duke of Leeds's Letters.

Advertisement concerning this History.

his Friends in England have generally made for him. He owns indeed that Difficulties made him sometimes to incline to the worst Side; and speaking of his Zeal for the Romish Church, he declares himself to be none of those who believe a Man cannot exceed in it; for That Fire, as Holy as it is, often burns the House of God, when lighted without such Precautions as Prudence prescribes: A wise Saying, and applicable to the best Religion in the World.

The Author has shown no small Skill and Management in the Desence of King James; but then it must be own'd that he has very artfully omitted, or very nicely palliated in see Actions and Proceedings, which would hardly bear a strict Scrutiny; and he has too tenderly touch'd, or too designedly varnish'd over, what wants the greatest Apology of all, namely, open Breach of Faith. If he had been more sparing in his Promises, his Errors had been fewer, and his Case more pityable: But a true English Man will easily forget all, when he considers the Two incomparable Daughters he left; a Blessing that attones for greater Crimes than one Man can be supposed to commit.

But after all, there are several Things so new and curious in this Part, as to the Revolution itself that it is not doubted, but it will g ye both Pleasure and Instruction to a cautious

Reader.

Louth in Lincolnthire, May 8, 1711,

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THE

AUTHOR's PREFACE

the Reasons which induc'd me to publish this History so soon, contrary to my first Resolutions. This Preface regards other Matters, which I thought fit the Reader should be inform'd of.

The first is, That this Work is a complete History of the House of the Stuarts, since its uniting the Crowns, which compose the British Monarchy, in the Person of King James the first. Tho' the History of that Prince be more contracted than those of the others, I do not think I have omitted any Passage of his Reign that is considerably worth knowing; and I am persuaded, I give such an Account of his Person as will be Satisfatory. My Relation reaches down to our Days, and

^{*} F. Orleans has written four Books of The History of the Revolutions in England.

includes That Revolution which still keeps Europe in a Fire. I was sensible of the Difficulties of the Undertaking; those who write Libels, or Apologies, may perhaps be insensible of it, because they fill their Works with nothing but what is favourable to their Caufe. An Historian, who seeks after Truth, who defires to deliver it, and looks upon it as the main Duty of his Profession, must needs be hard set to find it out, and much more to know how to express himself upon such a Subject as this; in which, not to mention other Considerations, not to be slightly pass'd over by a wife Man, every one has proceeded upon such Prepossession as is very difficult for a Writer to remove. I have surmounted all those Obstacles, and ventur'd to write one of the nicest Parts of the History of our Times. I have fought after the Truth, and have deliver'd it, without any other Prospect than doing Justice to those to whom I owe it: Which is the only Motive that inclines me to be partial, when I am so. I know there are some Persons who would have those that write History espouse no Party, and only deliver the Facts plainly, leaving the Readers to judge what is well, or ill done, without Preposession.

That is a good Rule, and those who follow it, run into less Danger of deviating from Truth than others; but there are some Histories of such a Nature, that an Author cannot observe that very Maxim, without doing wrong to that Truth, which is due from him to the Readers. Such are those, which an HISTORIAN writes after partial Authors, who have black ned commendable Astions, and vertuous Astors with heimous Slanders; who have fallen upon Religion, the Legal Authority, and Soveraigns; and who contrary to the Precepts deliver'd in Holy Writ, have touch'd the Lord's anointed, and done his Prophets Harm. Those Sestaries, who in our Days have writ

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the History of the Three last Kings of England, excepting only some few less violent, and more cautious of their own Reputation, have had so little Regard to Moderation, and stuff d their Books, or ather their Libels, with so much Venom against bose Princes; against the Catholick Religion, proes'd by the last of them, and against the Prerogaives of the Crown, that an Historian, who would peak the Truth, and discover it to his Readers, cannot forbear appearing against them. I have done it as seldom as possible, and when I have done it, have taken care in attacking the Historian, not to deviate from the Respect that is due to those Persons, who for their Birth, their Dignity, and their Character ought to be respected, even by those who cannot approve of their Conduct. I have done Justice to the good Qualities of those who had many had ones. I bave commended the Actions of the wickedest Men. when they were commendable; and I have not deny'd Cromwell, whom his Regicide render'd the most odious Tryant that ever was, the Honour of baving been a mighty Genius, a notable Politician, and a great Commander.

I have behav'd myself in the same Manner towards those, whose Side Truth and Justice have oblig'd me to espouse. I have not conceal'd the Faults, the Defects, or the wrong Measures of those Princes whose Cause I have defended. I have never excus'd them, but when I really thought they were excusable; and if I could be apprehensive of having exceeded, it would be rather in using too much Liberty, then in Flattering.

The next Particular I thought myself oblig'd to acquaint the Reader with, relates to the Memoirs I have made use of. I have preferr'd Publick and approv'd Histories, before private and peculiar Manuscripts. I

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bave been told of some, which I have slighted, because I found they had not so much Authority as was requisite to be made use of with Safety. But I have been furnished with others of such a Character as I could have no Reason to scruple the making use of them, and they have been a great Help to me.

For the History of King Charles the First, the Marquis D'Estampes has been pleas'd to impart to me the Letters of the late Mareschal D'Estampes, his Grandfather, and Embassador in England during the Session of that famous Parliament, which first shook the King's Fortune. I have there found many Things I could not meet with elsewhere, because of the Correspondence there was between that Minister and the Chief of the Parliament-Faction, with whom France then kept in, to counterpose the Court, then almost declar'd for the Interest of Spain.

F. de la Rue bas shown me an Extract, formerly taken by bimself, of the Mareschal D'Estrades's Letters to Cardinal Richelieu, wherein I have found some Particulars, which have given me light in very important Points, which are known, but wrong, because only known upon publick Reports, which alter, and confound them. The Copier's Character has made them to me as good as Originals; those who are acquainted with him will allow I might make such Use of him.

Towards the History of King Charles the Second, the Advocate General de Lamoignon, has communicated to me a Relation of the Affairs of England, writ by himself, when he travell'd into England, in the Year 1665. The Manuscript is composed, as far as it regards that Reign, of what he had from the King himself. His Majesty when in France, had received some good Offices from the late Premier President,

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and was pleas'd in England to make an Acknowedgment to his Son. He gave him Lodgings in Whitehall, and much Liberty to see bim; and pereiving by the Questions, Monsieur de Lamoignon R'd, that he was gathering all the Particulars be uld, relating to his History, he was pleas'd himself inform bim; and upon what he told bim, the Retion I speak of was compild; to which Monsieur Lamoignon added a Description of that Court, bich has directed me in the ensuing Times, and which bave found so agreeable to what I have been afterpards told by several Noblemen of that Nation, who ere a Part of the same Court, that I could not but dmire a Toung Stranger should be so well acquainted vith their Genius, their Intrigues, and their Inerelts.

I may fay, I have had the same good Fortune in elation to the History of King James the Second. I have had the Liberty of discoursing that Prince about it, as long as I could wish. I am not afraid to own it, fince most of the Facts I mention, are so publickly known, that none, not even his Enemies, disown them. There is scarce any other Difference between what we all relate, but in the Motives, and Occasions of the Actions we mention. I believe no just Man will form a Judgment of that Monarch's Intentions, and the Grounds of his Proceedings, from what is given out by his Subjects, or reported by their Partisans. His Religion, his Dignity, his Virtue, and the Character of his Person, make him more to be rely'd on than they. His Uprightness towards God, which has made him sacrifice Three Crowns to his Faith, is an undeniable Testimony of his Sincerity towards Men in Points of a much less Concern. The Protestants blame him for having brought his Misfortunes upon himself, by a Contempt of the establish d Laws; by affecting an Arbitrary Power; by an immoderate

moderate Zeal for bis Religion, tending to the Defirudion of the Nation, and by several Attempts no way fuitable to the Power of a King of England, which is circumscrib'd by the Parliament, and the Liberties of the People. That Prince declared, be did nothing contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom; and if he dispens'd with them, it was by a Right own d by the Judges who were Protestants. and inseparable to the Royal Dignity; that be attempted nothing in Favour of his own Religion, but in Moderation, and that without the least Design of obliging any Man to embrace it, any farther than Conscience, and Conviction should ingage them of their own free Will; that be had us d all the Means Prudence could suggest, for maintaining of those Rights that were contested with him; that if be rejested some he might have had recourse to, he was guilty of that Fault out of Care, not to prove the Fealous Temper of his Subjects, and give Uneafiness to those very Protestants, who complain so bitterly against bim; and after all, that the Measures be took were of such a Nature, as could not have fail'd, bad they not been broken by unparallell'd Treachery, and such as a Man of Probity can never imagine, or conceive so many Persons of eminent Quality, and most of them loaded with his Favours, could ever be guilty of.

Is there any Question to be made, where the Truth resides, upon these two different Testimonies? Let us lay aside the Partiality we may have on Account of our Religion, and our Love to our Kings; let us only consult Reason, natural Sense, and the first Principles. Can a wise Man waver between these two Plans of English History, and not declare for the latter? I have follow'd it, and am sure, the Facts will oblige the Reader to declare I was in the Right in so doing.

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I am also beholden for some Information to the Earl of Castlemain, whose Virtue, so often try'd or the Sake of his Faith, is a great Addition to his irth, and his extensive Knowledge answerable to his rightly Mind. Mr. Skelton has instructed me in bat he knew, by being employ'd upon considerable egotiations in all the Courts of Europe, and parularly in France and Holland, where he had the pportunity of being nearer than any other to fee nd observe the nicest Part of what was in Agition, at the Time of the Revolution. But no Man has furnish'd me with better, or more certain Memoirs, than Mr. Sheridan, an Irish Gentleman, ormerly Secretary of State, Privy Councellor and Sureyor General of the Revenue in his own Country. bave met with none more knowing in the British History than he, nor better acquainted with the Particulars of late Actions, or of the several Inerests of those concern'd in them. He has so great a hare in this Work, that I should be ungrateful, did not own it.

Notwithstanding all these Helps. I am sensible I nay have committed some Mistakes; but declare I im ready to own and mend them, when told of them. In the mean while, I may justly expect some Favour rom the Readers, in regard of the Dissibility there is in writing the History of a Nation, which differs to much from others, and often varies from itself, is the English does. Religion alone there, makes a sonfusion of Sects, the Dissertity of Factions in and to be unravelled. The Diversity of Factions in angland is another Trouble to an Historian, especially a Stranger, and often puts him in danger of wring. For those Factions, as well as Religion, requently dividing Families, so that the same Names are found in different Sects and Parties,

not to mention those who do not always adhere to the same Sest or Party, it is easy to mistake one for another.

These are the main Points I thought my self oblig'd to give my Readers an Account of, and am ready to receive any Information from them, and to improve upon their Observations, if ever so slightly communicated to me. Some there are, which at least Publick Fame will make known to Authors. I shall be attentive to them, and docible, and will endeavour to make my own Errors advantageous to me, in order to be guilty of the sewer for the Time to come.



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HISTORY

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Revolutions in England,

UNDER'THE

Family of the STUARTS, &c.

BOOK I.

Containing a Short Account of the Peaceful Reign of King JAMES the First, and the Troubles under King CHARLES the First, to the Murder of that Prince, and Usurpation of Oliver Cromwell.

ERE the Inclinations of Princes as naturally communicated to their Subjects, as those of Parents are to their Children, K. James the English Nation might for a long I. peaceatime have been heal'd by King James bleether First of the realest Difference which is the Occasional Control of the realest Difference which is the Occasional Control of the real of the Prince which is the Occasional Control of the real of the Prince which is the Occasional Control of the Prince of the Prince of the Prince of the Prince of Princes as naturally communicated to their Subjects, as the Prince of the Prince of the Prince of Princes as naturally communicated to their Subjects, as the Prince of the Prince of Princes as naturally communicated to their Subjects, as the Prince of Princes as naturally communicated to their Subjects, as the Prince of Princes as naturally communicated to their Subjects, as the Prince of Prince o

the First, of that restless Distemper which is the Occafion of Revolutions. No Prince was ever a greater Lover of Peace, or more careful to maintain it. He was pleas'd and glory'd in being call'd the Peaceable King. His Temper, Designs, and Maxims, all tended to

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that end. He frankly declar'd he was not ambitious of extending his Dominions, but thought it enough to ob-Aruct others from incroaching on them; and own'd an Aversion to War, which, he said, was in the State like Women in a private Family, sometimes a necessary Evil, but to be avoided as much as possible. It is alfo reported, that he had a natural Aversion to Arms, and could not fee a naked Sword without being in Danger of Swooning. Yet is not that Weakness attributed to want of Courage, but to the Fright the Queen his Mother took, when being big of him, she saw David Rice murder'd in her Presence. However, ill Tongues did not forbear reproaching him on that account, and some Person had the Boldness to make a Latin Distich. the Sense whereof was; That Elizabeth had been a great King, and James was a good Queen, for Nature had been mistaken in both of them.

All these Reslections could not move that Philosophical Prince to make any Alteration in his Conduct, which he was fix'd in by Nature, Education, and Study. The Course of his Life was regulated by that Plan, and ever

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Lives in A-continu'd uniform in that Particular. One of his first mity with publick Acts, as soon as seated on the Throne of England, France was a Declaration, that he would maintain a good Unand Spain. derstanding with all his Neighbours. And accordingly,

upon his first taking Possession of the Government of that Monarchy, he immediately gave Order to conclude a Peace with Spain, which Queen Elizabeth had been long in War with; and to renew the Alliance that Princess had contracted with Henry the Great, King of France. From that Time forward, King James adhering to the Rule he had prescrib'd to himself, not to interfere with the Affairs of others, very rarely interpos'd in what related to those two Monarchs, neither endeavouring to fet them at Variance, nor to reconcile them. He also very dexteroufly prevented an almost unavoidable Occafion of breaking with one or other of them; on the one fide, under-hand obstructing the Dutch from putting themselves under the Protection of France, as they were courted to do; and on the other, industriously advancing their Accommodation with Spain: Thus at once discharging himself of the Ingagement he was under of protecting a Protestant Nation against Spain, and of the Jealousy he must have conceiv'd, lest France, by the Acceffion

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ssion of the United Provinces to its Power, might active a Superiority that must be uneasy to its Neighburs.

Whatfoever Alliances this King contracted with other vereigns, the Consequence of them never was such o ingage him in their Quarrels. His Brother in Law, Refuses King of Denmark; defigning to make War with Swe- Aid to discover'd his Intention to him, defiring his Affi-Denmark, ace. King James did all he could to didwade him; perceiving he could not prevail, positively declar'd would not affift him, and was as good as his Word. The Emulation there was between those Foreign Pow-English very much facilitated the English Monarch's continu-uneasy at Peace with them as he defir'd; each of them keep- Temper; g fair with him, if not to gain him for an Ally; yet at aft not to make him an Enemy. There was more Rean to fear he might meet with greater Obstacles in fering the publick Tranquility at home among his Subcts; and in this Particular he made it appear, that ature had no less furnish'd him with the Talent of estaishing Peace, than with the Inclination to it. e one Hand; the uneary Temper of an English Parliaent feem'd likely to be heighten'd under a King who as a Stranger, and unacquainted with the Customs of e Country; and on the other, the Union of two lerce, Hot, and Unfriendly Nations, must find him at was to govern them enough to do, before they ould be reconcil'd to one another. Befides that, the ifference of Religion betwixt them, tho both Proteants, was a powerful Motive to disjunite the Minds of e two Nations, between which there was before a

Since those Islanders have abandon'd that Unity, Seels in hich is the distinctive Mark of the True Church, all the Englands off extravagant and sensies Herefies in the World have und Followers among them; of such mighty Consesence it is not to deviate from that first Point of the egal Authority, which is the only Preservative appointed by God to secure the Mind of Man from straying out of the Way. The Sociaians, the Anabaptists, the Allenaries, the Adamites, and almost all the new Sectional have of late sprung up fince the Days of Martin Luber; have their Meetings or Conventicles in that Island:

t has even those who are rare in other Parts, and whose

The History of the Revolutions in England.

Names are expressive of their Madness, such as the Fa-1603.

naticks and Quakers.

Church of

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The Chiefest among all these Sects, are those two, England. which divide England and Scotland into two Parts, almost equal to one another: That which is properly call'd the Church of England, embraces the Medley of Errors, which Cranmer, who was a Lutheran; the Duke of So. merset, a Sacramentarian; and Queen Elizabeth, who took fomething from all the Innovators of her Time, added to the Schism begun by King Henry the Eighth, to form the New Religion, in which they also retain'd fome part of the Hierarchy and Customs of the Catholick Church, particularly the Bishops, and many Ceremonies. Hence those Sectaries had the Name of Episcopal given them, in Opposition to the Presbyteri-These last are the second Predominant Sect in the British Monarchy. This Name has been impos'd a them, because they are govern'd by the Elders, that is, by the Sages of their Congregation, who have no other Puritans. Character, but their Election to that Function. These

are mere Calvinists, and otherwise called Puritans in those Kingdoms, because they pretend they have purg'd Christianity from the Superstitions they ascribe to the Church of Rome, and cannot bear with the Church of

These two Sects were continually embroil'd at the

England for retaining any part of them.

Time I here speak of. At their first falling off, they had acted in Concert to overthrow the Catholick Religion and instead of it, to set up the Episcopal in England, and the Presbyterian in Scotland. When they had subdu'd the Common Enemy, they turn'd their Arms upon one another, and began that War, which has produc'd those dismal Effects we have beheld. The Quarrel was grown high when King James united the two Crowns, and this was a farther Obstruction to the Peace he intended to fettle in his new acquir'd Monarchy. However he compass'd it. Fortune contributed something, but many

other things concurr'd, which were the Product of his

Management.

The first of these washis extraordinary Complaisance K. ames's Methodsto towards the Parliament, from his first Accession to the preserve Throne; which he always consulted, not only in the Weighty Affairs of State, but even in most of those The 1st. which concern'd his Family; condescending to their

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dvice; pretending a mighty Regard not to infringe eir Privileges; asking few extraordinary Supplies, d choosing rather to be streightned in his Way of lying, than to administer occasion of Complaint by ing his Coffers.

The second was his carrying such an even Hand he-The 2d. een the two Nations, that neither of them was, unhim, an Occasion of Preferment, or an Obstacle to

The raising of Robert Car, from a Private Gentlen of Scotland to be Earl of Somerset, Lord Chamberh, and Minister of State, at first made the English apehensive, lest the natural Affection to his Country ould remove all Favour into Scotland; but Time foon deceiv'd them. Car was difgrac'd for his Mildemears, another Favourite succeeded him, and that was an aglish-man, the same who afterwards grew to famous the Title of Duke of Buckingham. Cecil, another Enb-man, was Minister of State: King James thus maing it appear, that if he lov'd one Man more than anoer, it was Merit and Affection, not his Birth, or Naon that gave him the Preference.

The third thing which contributed to this Prince's The 3d. njoying Peace at home, was his easy Compliance in Illowing the Religion that was uppermost. He had een bred up in the Presbyterian Sect, and adher'd to it, long as he staid in Scotland, but embraced the Episcod, as foon as he came into England. Not that he was pid of Religion, having even some Inclination to the rue, and made some Steps towards being Converted; ut the Difficulty and the Consequences of embracing he Catholick Religion were dreadful to a King of Enand, who was apprehensive of disturbing his Respote.

King James seem'd to have renounc'd his peaceable Establishes isposition, when intending to bring both the Kingdoms Episcopacy. the same Form of Worship, he undertook to introce the Government, Ceremonies, and Discipline of e Church of England into Stotland. But it soon apear'd, that even in this Enterprize he preferv'd his haracter; by the extraordinary Circumspection, and e nice Measures he took to bring it about; observing ie proper Time, foothing, and giving way when he pereiv'd Affairs tended to such Uneafiness as might occasihany Trouble. Thus improving his Interest among he Great Ones, he, in the Year 1606. establish'd Epis-

copacy

1603.

copacy in that Kingdom, in spite of the Presbyterian M nisters, and fet up the High Commission Court, for the Exercise of the Bishops surifdiction. However, at the same time, to render this disagreeable Turn the

more tolerable to the Ministers, he took care that their Penfions should be rais'd and better paid. In a Synod held at Perth, Anno Dom. 1618. he prevail'd to have the

five following Articles of the English Discipline receiv'd; And five i. That the Sacrament should be taken by the People

Kneeling, from the Hands of the Ministers. 2. That the Ministers should go to their Houses to baptize Children in danger of Death. 3. That they should adminifter the Communion to fuch Persons as desir'd it. 4. That the Bishops should confirm Children when they came to the Use of Reason, and had learn'd their Catechism 5. That they should keep the Festivals of the Nativity, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Saviour, and Pentecoft, or Whitfuntide. These Innovations, as the zealous Presbyterians call'd them, made them mutiny, adhering to their former Customs, notwithstanding their Sovereign's Decree, and the Approbation of the Synod, and particularly in Places remote from the Cities, where the Bishops resided. The King conniv'd, and bore with them; believing he could not compel, without too much provoking them. For this fame Reason he defisted from introducing the English Liturgy into the Churches of Scotland, as he had at first defign'd, to the end the publick Prayers might be the fame in all Parts; because there was a general Commotion upon its being bruited abroad, and contented himself with leaving the Project drawn up to the Prince his Son, for him to put it in Execution when there should be a favourable Conjuncture; advising him to take heed of the Presbyterian Sect, as of a Serpent, whose Venom was equally pernicious both to Church and State.

To conclude, the fourth Method King James dexte-4th Meroufly made use of to gain both the Parliament, and the thod. Sectaries in his Dominions, was from Time to Time to expose the Catholicks to the Effects of their Aversion. They are faid to have given him occasion for fo doing, at the Beginning of his Reign, by the Powder Plot

Powder-Such a detestable Attempt could never be too severely Plot. punish'd. All Men do not agree about the Circumstances of it that were given out. The Inventions of our

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Days show what might have been invented then. However it was, that Crime could not be imputed to the Catholicks alone; for a confiderable Number of the Conspirators were Protestants; and if any Catholicks were concern'd, some of them were Priests, who had no other Hand in it, than that they were accus'd without ufficient Proof, of having been told it in Confession; he others were two or three Incendiaries, fet on, as is believ'd, by Cecil, the Prime Minister, in order to exofe the Catholicks to the Persecution that ensu'd. Howver it was, the Complaint the King made to his Parliament of that Conspiracy, whether true or false, was more successful in gaining him the Affections of that Affembly, than he could have wish'd. A King hated by the Catholicks became the Hero of the Protestants; and a Battle gain'd by his Conduct would not have purthas'd him fo much Honour among them, as did the accidental escaping of that Danger. This Method of gaining the Peoples Affections, appear'd to fucceisful to that Prince, that he afterwards frequently made use of it; nor was he the last who has had recourse to it. Successors have scarce found any better Means to amuse the Parliament, when they were apprehensive of it, than complaining against the Catholicks, and employing it in bestowing real Penalties on imaginary Conspiracies.

King James's Care to oppress the Catholicks in Ireland, redoubled his Applause among the Protestants. This cost him no Trouble; for the Irish being destitute of the Succours the Spaniards sent them in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, were less able than ever to oppose a Power which was increased one half: So that this Affair disturbed not the peaceable King's Repose. That of the Palatinate gave him more Uneasiness, and was likely, in spite of his Disposition, to ingage him in a War, had not Death prevented; or rather, if the Way of Treaty, which is always slow, and which he sirst try'd, in order to avoid a Rupture, had not gain'd him Time to end his Days in Peace.

King James never more exerted his peaceable Temper 1620. than upon this Occasion: He had marry'd his Daughter Palatine to Frederick, Count Palatine: After the Death of the Em-Affair. peror Mathias, a Protestant League having offer'd that Elector to place him on the Throne of Bohemia, he con-

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fulted his Father-in-law, who forefeeing the Confequences would be fatal to his own and his Son-in-law's Quiet, did all he could to diffwade him from it. But Frederick, who had more regard to the Affistance he expected from him than to his Advice, would not refuse the Offer made him by that Party, hoping that the King of England would not forfake him in the Time of Need. He was crown'd, but the Coronation was all the Advantage he reap'd by his Royalty: An Army he had rais'd being routed at Prague by the Emperor Ferdinand's, and his Catholick Majesty's Forces entering the Palatinate almost at the same time, that Prince not only lost his new acquir'd Dominions, but even those which had descended to him from his Ancestors with the Title of an Elector, the Investiture whereof was given to his Kinsman the

As fond as his Father-in-law was of Peace, he could

not nevertheless be insensible of the Ruin of his Son-in-

Duke of Bavaria by the Emperor Ferdinand.

Spain.

law, or forbear espousing the Interest of so considerable a Branch of his Family, He espoused it, but according to his Genius, in the tedious Way of Treaties, which lasted longer than his Life. Philip III. King of Spain be-Wales in ing ingag'd for the House of Austria, and his Power confiderable in that Affair, King James propos'd to him a Match between his own Son, the Prince of Wales, and the Infanta Mary, yet without mentioning the Motive that induc'd him to that Alliance. King Philip confulted the Pope about that Match, and having receiv'd an Answer, that his Holiness would consent, provided any Advantage might accrue to Religion, the Treaty was All things were well near adjusted, and a final Conclusion was so undoubtedly expected, that the Prince of Wales, to express his Impatience for it, undertook a Journey into Spain. This extraordinary Proceeding was thought might remove all Difficulties that could yet remain towards obstructing of the Match, and to accelerate the tedious way of Proceeding in the Courts of Rome, and Madrid; but all the English Vivacity could not invigorate the Spanish Gravity, nor expedite the Italian Slowness. After a confiderable time fpent in publick Solemnities and Ceremonies, the Duke of Buckingham, who had the Superintendence over the Prince of Wales, falling at Variance with the Conde Duque de Olivares, Prime Minister to his Catholick Ma-

ham's ill Conduct.

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Under the Family of the Stuarts, &c.

jesty, the Business began to cool. Several Accidents heightned the Distairs action on both sides; and at last the Proposal made by the King of Great Britain to the King of Spain, for engaging him to procure the Restitution of the Palatinate, quite broke off the Treaty. King James, and the Prince his Son, next cast their Eyes upon France, and apply'd themselves to King Lewis the 13th, for his Sister, the Princess Henrietta, whom

the Prince actually marry'd.

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After this Rupture with Spain, King James could no K. James onger avoid taking up Arms against the House of Au-dies. tria; he was fully resolv'd upon it, but it was that peaceable King's Fate to die in Peace. He ceas'd to live, when he defign'd to make War; which was on the 26th Day of March, 1625. belov'd by his Subjects, lamented 1625. by Strangers, and commended by all the Learned Men in Europe, as the Patron of Litterature; for which, if we may judge by his Works, it will appear he had rather an Affection than any good Taste, and that he who, during his Life, call'd him the Learned King, rather did it because he was a King, than because he was really Learned. It were to be wish'd, for the Honour of that Prince, that he had been more sparing of the Deference he had for Men of Letters. It cannot but move any one to Indignation against him, to see with what Patience he bore the Insolence of Buchanan, who presum'd to de-A Fault of dicate * a Book to him, wherein that Author subjects his. Monarchs to the Judgment of their People, and to Penalties, the greatest whereof is not being depos'd. What that mercenary Historian falfly writes concerning Mary Stuart, ought to have mov'd a Son to express more Concern against the Slanderer of his Mother. Posterity, which does not spare King James, for having been too tame towards Queen Elizabeth, notwithstanding it so highly concern'd him not to provoke her, will never forget the Lenity he show'd to an infignificant Fellow, because he was a Man of Learning.

From this Description I have given of the first King of His Chathe House of Scotland that govern'd England, two Inferen-ratter. ces may be drawn. The first, That his Talent for living in Peace, was almost equally the Product of his good

^{*} De Jure Regni apud Scotos.

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and bad Qualities, of much Uprightness, a singular Mo-1625. deration; of an easy Temper, and good Behaviour; but at the same Time of a Mind which neither look'd, nor car'd for any Thing beyond it felf, confin'd to the present, and leaving to Time the Fate of his Posterity; right in the Bottom, but easy to incline to that Religion where there was the least Opposition, tho' his Inclination was to the True one; Complaifant to avoid being contradicted; and fearful of exercifing the Regal Prerogative to avoid disturbing the Tranquility of his Reign, finding it easier to connive at any Wrong than to pu-The fecond Inference may be made from what I have faid of King James is, That by securing Peace to himself, he left his Son Charles the Seed of those Broils, which occasion'd the Revolution I shall now write; a War without Money, a Parliament not us'd to give any, and too positive in that Particular; a Religion not well reconcil'd to it felf, and feveral Sects contending for Preference.

King Charles the First's Enemies have given out, that the First. a Prince who had been more Politick, less govern'd by others, of a more uniform Conduct; not so easy, or so positive out of Season, and more ready in coming to a Resolution, would have surmounted all those Difficulties. I rather believe it may be faid, he had overcome them, had he been more fortunate, and that he was one of those, whose Reputation depends on their Success. As he had Faults, fo he had Qualities that corrected them; and as he committed Overfights, so he did other Things which would have more than made amends for them, had not Fortune, which favour'd him upon several Occasions, always forsaken him when Actions were decifive. It cannot be deny'd, but that he had Sense, Courage, and Vertue. That brisk Way of his in making War, when he commanded himfelf, and was fully refolv'd upon it; the several Battles he fought in Person; the Victories he obtain'd; are Demonstrations that he understood the Trade, tho' he did not love it. When he had more than once reduc'd his Enemies to extremity; another Victory would have made him Absolute. But this Height of good Fortune ever fail'd him, whatfoever he could do to attain it. Had it fallen to his lor, he would never have been charg'd with having brought upon himself a War which he endeavour'd to avoid, nor

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with endeavouring to avoid it, when it was become absolutely necessary; he would rather have been commended for managing of it well, and had the Success been prosperous, all Men would have forgot, that perhaps it had been indiscreet in the Original, and too slow in the Beginning.

For the more orderly laying open that King's unpatalell'd Misfortunes, and for the better discovering, as s the Duty of an Historian, the Miscarriages that are said to have contributed towards them, we must add to the other Seeds of Domeftick Troubles and Divisions left him by his Father, a Favourite that was both envy'd and hated. George Villers, Duke of Buckingham, who had Buckinggain'd the Ascendant over the Father and the Son suc-ham's cessively, was the Favourite I speak of. He was a No-Character. bleman endu'd with fuch Qualities as render'd him amiable to those he desir'd to please, and at the same time made him more insupportable to those he was not afraid to offend. He was a Handsome Man and Witty; born of an aspiring Nature, of a very noble, and, when he pleas'd, ingaging Behaviour; but Imperious, Haughty, and Restless; and one of those conceited Courtiers, who believe they can do every Thing, because they have no Experience in any Thing; who endeavour to oblige no Man, when they have gain'd thole they fland in need of; and who lacrifice even their Master's Interest to their own Ambition.

Such a Favourite was most proper to alienate the Hearts of the English from their new King; and he was the first Occasion of the fatal Breach between that Prince The Aversion conceiv'd against the His Acts. and his People. Duke had not appear'd to openly during the former Reign; either because the bearing with him was become habitual, or for that the Parliament believ'd that Complaifance was due to an old King, who indulg'd them very much. Nay, there was a Time when that Affembly paid the Duke great Respect, believing themselves oblig'd to him for having broke off the Match with Spain, which King James, contrary to his usual Practice, had undertaken without their liking. Buckingham had been to artful as to perswade them, that the Deference he had for their Opinions had prevail'd with him to disappoint an Alliance which was disagreeable to them, and which they were apprehensive might be of fatal Con-

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The History of the Revolutions in England,

fequence to the Protestant Religion. But the Differences between that Haughty Favourite and the Earl of Bristol, Embaffador at the Court of Spain, during that Negoti-

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ation, unhappily discover'd some Secrets, which undeceiv'd the Parliament. The Duke was a Man of Intrigue, and the Audaciousness of his Attempts sometimes drew him into Inconveniencies. That he made upon the Intrigues. Dutchess of Olivares, whom he durst presume to acquaint with a Passion he either had, or pretended to have for her, cost him dear, as is well known. The greatest Missortune was, that that Intrigue help'd to break his Master's Measures towards the Marriage of the The Earl of Bristol had given intimation of that Practice of the Duke's, so ill becoming a Person entrusted with such a Negotiation; and Buckingham had his Revenge, by caufing him to be recall'd from his Ambasty. The Earl suppress his Resentment, as long as he thought the Season was not proper to obtain Satisfaction; but as foon as King James was dead, he laid hold of the Opportunity of the Master's being chang'd, to attack the Favourite, whom he charg'd with feveral Mifdemeanors in the first Parliament the new King affembled; and among the rest, of having contriv'd the Match with Spain, in order to restore the Catholick Religion, inflead of breaking it off, out of any Zeal for the Protestant. The Earl was in the right, for Buckingham was always well inclin'd towards the true Faith, notwithstanding the loosness of his Life; and his Master being of the same Mind, one of their main Designs in contracting an Alliance with fuch a Catholick Monarchy, had been to dispose the Affairs of England to an entire Re-union with the See of Rome. The Pope and the Prince had writ to one another, upon occasion of the Dispensation requisite for that Marriage. A less Matter would have ferv'd the Earl of Briffol to Impeach the Favourite of High Treason in the Parliament held under the new Reign.

Impeachment.

The King was much furpriz'd at it, Charles was as Parliament refu- much inclin'd to Peace as James had been ; but of an Age that made him less averse to War. Being ingag'd fes Supto declare against the House of Austria to procure the plies. Restitution of the Palatinate; he thought his Honour concern'd in fo doing as foon as he had afcended the Throne, and confummated the Marriage, which had

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been put off on account of his Father's Death. The 1625 Parliament before the Decease of King James had promis'd as much Money as was requifite for that Enterprize; but none had yet been rais'd. King Charles press'd for it, and hop'd they would, out of hand, settle fufficient Funds to answer the Sum promis'd, when he was peremptorily given to understand, that he must expect none, till the Duke of Buckingham had answer'd to fuch Things as were laid to his Charge in Parliament. This short Answer surprized the Prince, and much more he Favourite. The latter did all he could to allay those Heats, and made use of the Method which had been so Successful with King James to amuse the Parliament. He there inveigh'd against the Catholicks, to show he was no Favourer of them, but it avail'd him not. The Catholicks were perfecuted, but yet the Profecutionagainst him did not ceafe. The Matter was drove fo far, that Diffolo'd it oblig'd the King to Diffolve the Parliament, without any Supply granted to carry on the War he defign'd to ingage in. However, he enter'd upon it at his own Expence, and on the Credit of his Friends, but with ill Success. Having begun to attack the House of Austria in Spain, and caus'd a Descent to be made at Cadiz, his Troops were there roughly handled, and forc'd to retire, with confiderable Loss of Men, and more of their Reputation.

This Disappointment heightned the Complaints against the Favourite, and began to indispose the Minds of the People towards their Sovereign. However the Bucking. Duke was nothing difmay'd: but to retrieve that Dif-ham in grace, form'd another Project, the Success whereof he France. fancy'd so sure, that he resolv'd to command the Forces appointed for that Service in Person. Being employ'd by the King in all Things of moment, he had been fent into France to conclude the Match. The Duke had been look'd upon in that Country as an agreeable Courtier, which made him not esteem'd as an able Statesman. He had miscarry'd by endeavouring to please, and his Intrigues with the Women had now drawn him into some personal Inconveniencies, very prejudicial to the publick Affairs; besides that he had Commission to make an Overture, which was not approv'd of; and was an Allyance against the House of Austria, which King James had before in some measure infinuated. Cardinal Richt

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1626. lien, who then govern'd France, had too many Enemies at home to make any abroad. Being threaten'd with a Civil War, he had no mind to ingage in a foreign one. Befides, tho' that great Politician bad already laid the Defign of lowering the House of Austria, he thought it most expedient to begin by suppressing the Hugonots, who were still powerful in the Kingdom, and he meditated the Siege of Rochel. These Reasons obstructing his giving Ear to the Duke's Proposal, the Match, which was too far advanc'd to be broke off, was concluded; but the League took not effect. The Duke conceiv'd such an Aversion against that Minister, that he privately combin'd with his Enemies to destroy him, bringing upon him from England the Foreign War he had been apprehenfive of, whilft the Party that was averse to him in France rais'd another against him at home. The Noise

War with of the Preparations made some Timeafter, for the Siege of Rochel, furnish'd the Duke with a proper Opportunity to retrieve the Reputation his Master and he had lost at the Cadiz Expedition. This was the Motive that engag'd King Charles in that War, notwithstanding his Affection and Complaifance for the Queen his Wife. Buckingham having made fure of the King, did not believe the Parliament ought to obstruct him. He fancy'd a War upon France, in Favour of a Protestant Faction, was an Enterprize too much to the Relish of the Nation, to leave him any Place to question the Parliament would forget the Hatred they had conceiv'd against him, that fo they might wholly apply themselves to the settling of the necessary Funds for that War. Being full of this Notion, he began by ingaging in the Affair: He order'd the French Merchant Ships to be infulted in the Channel, and caus'd most of the Queen's Catholick Servants that came out of France with her, to be fent back, upon pretence; that they transgress'd the Laws of England, out of Zeal for their Religion.

Parliadiffolv'd.

These violent Proceedings produc'd the Effect the mentagain Duke expected in France. Orders were given for Reprisals on the English Merchants, and the King thus provok'd, fent the Marshal de Bassompiere to demand Satisfaction for the late Breach of the Articles concluded upon the Marriage of his Sifter. The Duke, who had procur'd the Parliament to be affembled in the mean while, thought to have been as successful there; but

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as deceiv'd: Tho' that Assembly was compos'd of uite different Members from the former, yet they proeded on the same Grounds. They approv'd of the ersecution against the Catholicks, and positively re- 1627; as'd to grant the Supplies demanded to carry on the ar, till fuch time as the Duke should answer the Imachment brought against him. This Obstinacy in the rliament, to profecute the Favourite again, provok'd Mafter, and mov'd him once more to diffolve them y abruptly, ingaging a fecond Time to carry on War at his own Expence, and with no better Sucis than the first. The Duke who commanded the 1628; my, was defeated at the Ise of Rhe, which he Ise of Rhe buld have poffes'd himself of, returning home with ofs and Dishonour. It is easy to guess how all Engnd look'd upon him at his Return; but the King conhuing the same in regard to him, it was resolv'd beveen them to relieve Rochel, befieg'd by King Lewis e 13th, the following Year. They concluded the Profrant Religion's being attack'd in one of its principal ortresses, would be a powerful Motive for the Parliaent to grant Money. It was conven'd, and fomething ranted at first, but upon such Terms as were hard in temfelves, and no less fatal in their Consequences; ing Charles then first beginning to strip himself of the ain Prerogatives of his Crown to comply with his nemies, who abusing his easy Temper, intensibly ew him on to put the Supreme Power into their ands, which they made use of to the Destruction of mfelf, and Ruin of his Family. It was at this Time Petition of ey made him give his Affent to the Act call'd the Pe-Right. ion of Right, importing among other Things derogatoto the Royal Authority, that it should not be in the King's wer, either to baniffs or imprison any Person, without acainting him with his Crime.

Nor did the Parliament stop here; but having thus Infolence rb'd the Master, next bent their Force against the of the Cominister, still urging that he should answer to such mons. hings as had been laid to his Charge. Hot Speeches ere made against him, and in that Heat the Prince mself was not spar'd. The House of Commons proceed-d so far in that Insolence, as to silence the King's Attorey General, who would have spoke for him. This Jutragiousness oblig'd the King to dissolve the Parlia-

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ment again. He still profecuted the War, but with the 1628. Iame Success. The English were twice repuls'd from before Rochel. Buckingham, who had not been there the first time, was preparing to command the English Fleet the second, when he was murder'd by one Felton, a fort of Madman. However the Fleet put to Sea, tho' it was only to see the Rebels reduc'd, after several Esforts made in vain to relieve them, and being repuls'd with fuch Loss and Confusion, as drew all those Clamours upon the King himself that had been formerly against the Favourite.

> The King was complain'd of, but not yet hated; nor had it been yet impossible to settle a good Understanding between his Subjects and him, had there been more Art and Management made use of to reclaim them; but

Birth of 2 those Ways were then little known in the Court of England, where a haughty Spirit prevail'd, which it was believ'd might be held on with the less Danger, in regard they were more plaufibly deceiv'd by a false Appearance of Quiet at home, occasion'd by the Peace then concluded with France, and foon after with Spain, by

which the Restitution of the Palatinate was refer'd again to the way of Treaty, which put an end to it at Munster. The Joy conceiv'd for the Birth of a Prince of Wales in the Year 1630, and of a Duke of York three

Years after, added to the aforesaid Mistake.

Nevertheless, tho' nothing appear'd in publick, yet the diffolying of three Parliaments successively, and the Dishonour of the English Arms in three unfortunate Expeditions, lay so heavy at the Hearts of the Nation, that there was no removing them, without some powerful Medicines, which were not apply'd. And so far were they from healing these Distempers, that they rather heightned them, by the Resolution they seem'd to have taken to call no more Parliaments, but to make a shift without them, and the more by the Ways and Means they found to get Supplies; the King caufing several Du ties to be rais'd on Forests, on Commodities, and of the Inhabitants of the Sea-Ports, who he pretended were immediately annex'd to the Crown, and independent the Parliament; all which nevertheless met with Oppo fition, and at several times gave Occasion to Mutinies.

The Discontents in Scotland were no less than in Engl land. Besides the Refusal of certain Dignities to some

Princes.

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1633. Discontents in England.

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hem; the King, to increase his Revenue, and consequently stand the less in need of a Parliament, had Disconnessed from abundance of Scots Lords, the Benefices tents in hey had unjustly seiz'd on during the Regency of the Scotland, art of Murrey, notwithstanding the Parliament of stland had incorporated them in the Crown immediately upon the Schism. This Proceeding, tho altother Legal, according to the Protestant Law, if there is be any Right in Sacrilege and Usurpation, had nevertheless exposed the King to the Hatred of the Scots obility, and made most of the Great Ones his Eneits.

Such was the ticklish Posture of Affairs in the British onarchy, when the Archbishop of Canterbury put the Archbishop ing upon a Reformation of the Church, which prov'd Laud's e Ruin both of Church and State. Next to the Duke Character Buckingham none ever had so great an Ascendant over hat Prince as this Prelate; and in regard of his Personal Jualities, no Man deserv'd it better. William Land is id to have been a Man, who ow'd nothing to his Birth, nd very little to Fortune; that is, he was meanly born, nd tho' rais'd to such a Height, his Fortune was scarce qual to his Merit. His Capacity, Sense and Probity ere fingular. Such as do him Justice agree, that he neant well in what he undertook so ill. It is hard to ecide, whether his Vertue was fountainted as to carry o mixture of Self-Interest along with it, and whether he Ambition of being Head of the Churches of three lingdoms, did not interfere with those Political and leligious Motives, which mov'd him to attempt the Initing of the Presbyterian and Episcopal Sects. It was b hard Task for him to ingage the King in an Affair e was already but too well dispos'd to.

It was King Charles's Misfortune to be a Divine. He King ad once an Elder Brother, in whose Life time the King Charles is Father had design'd him for a Churchman, and bred for Uniform a Scholar, in order to be Archbishop of Canterbury. mity.

King that studies Divinity, generally dives deeper to Religious Matters than is convenient for the Good the State. This was the Case of King Charles, who as otherwise well inclin'd to favour the Archbishop's lesign, our of his Hereditary Aversion to the Presysterians; as well remembring the Instructions he

ng the initiactions

had receiv'd from his Father upon that Subject. Be. fides that he was fully prepoffes'd in favour of Episco. pacy, which he look'd upon as an Essential Part of Religion, and so absolutely necessary to the Crown, that he was wont to fay the Bishops were his Right Hand. To this we may add, that weighing the Enterprize by the general Maxims, nothing could appear more adequate to the Rules of true Policy, than the reducing of the two Sects into one; Unity in Religion being one of the most folid Foundations of the Security of the State.

1635.

These were the several Motives that induc'd King Charles to ingage the Regal Authority in supporting those Alterations Archbishop Laud undertook to make in the Protestant Religion, in favour of Episcopacy. I faid before there had been confiderable Advances in Scot. and during the Reign of King James. Others were now newly made in England, where the Archbishop had order'd the Communion Table, which before flood in the middle of the Church, to be remov'd to the upper end of the Choir, as the more decent Place, and most agreeable of the Institution by Queen Elizabeth. This and the like Alterations, together with some hot Difputes about the keeping of Sunday, and the manner of Preaching Predestination to the People, had incens'd the Puritans, some of whom had writ, not only against those Innovations, but against the Bishops themselves that were the occasion of them. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who could influence the Pens of the Learned, and the King's Power of the Sword, caus'd those Libels to be answer'd, and the Authors to be punish'd, which for some time put a stop to that Licentiousness in writing. Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, three of the most famous Authors, had their Ears cut off, and were comand Baft- mitted to Goal. This Severity, as it gave a Check to the Writers, so it much incens'd the whole Sect.

Prynne, Burton, wick.

Insurrections about Religion.

It is dangerous exerting of Authority to the utmost Point: The more Men have been made tractable by Fear, the readier they are to shake off the Yoak through Spight and Despair. The Puritans had born with the feveral Attempts made upon their Sect impatiently enough in reality, yet without breaking out into open Rebellion. The Resolution taken at this time to put in Execution what had been projected by King James, touching the Uniformity of Publick Prayers, and Establish

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ing the English Liturgy in Scotland, occasion'd an Insurrection among the Sectaries of both Kingdoms, which afterwards involv'd all parts of the State, and was properly the immediate Cause of the Revolution I have now an Hand

That Liturgy had always been difagreeable to the Calinifts, as declar'd Enemies to all Ceremonies, which Changes in hey pretend are inconsistent with the Purity of Divine the Liture Vorship, and the Spirit of the Gospel. In the Reigney. King Edward the VIth. after the Duke of Somerfet, ho was the first Contriver of that Book, had caus'd it b be authoriz'd by Act of Parliament, in the Year 1549. ucer being then invited into England by Archbishop ranmer, and having writ over to Calvin, acquainting im with the Condition he found the Reformation in, hat Arch-Heretick complain'd, that they had left all the Mass in the English Liturgy, and advis'd Bucer to rerede from the Compliance he had till then practis'd in he Reformation of the Churches. So great was the Deference paid to Calvin, that most of those things he found fault with were put out of the Liturgy, and the Parliament approv'd of that Curtailing in the Year 1552. Queen Elizabeth, who lov'd Ceremonies, refor'd those the Calvinists had abolish'd under King Edward, and the Parliament complying with any Religion but the True, confirm'd that third Alteration with as much eafe as it had done the two former. The Calvinists made a great stir, but being as yet weak in England, and standing in need of the Queen to support them in Scotland, there was little regard to their Complaints. King James Iucceeding Queen Elizabeth, and having been bred up among the Scots Puritans, they thought he would have favour'd them in England, and made Application to him against the English Liturgy. By much mportunity, in the Year 1603, they prevail'd on him o alter some Expressions which were most offensive to hem; but that was all they could obtain. From that ime forward, King James entirely consenting with the Bilhops, and the Episcopal Party, the Presbyterians, mong other Mortifications, had that of seeing the Enlife Liturgy daily become more remote from the Puritan Spirit, by the Addition of Ceremonies, and particularly in the Reign of King Charles, especially after Land was made Archbishop of Canterbury. Whilst these Regulations were confin'd to England, where the Presby.

terian Sect was not the Establish'd Religion, there was no farther Opposition than murmuring; but all Moderation was laid aside, when it was known, that the King and the Archbishop, grown bolder than King James had been, did not only resolve to establish that Liturgy in Scotland, but that they had inserted into the Copies sent thither some things, which render'd it still more conformable to the Roman Mass.

Exceptions In short, to render the Liturgy the more acceptable against the to the Body of the Scots Nation, always jealous of its Scots Li- Immunities, it was resolved, that it should differ in some Particulars from that which was used in England, and that it should be contrived by the Scots Bishops. However all that being done by the Direction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Difference made was not at all acceptable to the Nation, and utterly incensed the Sect; in regard that, as I said before, that Copy of the English Liturgy was more like the Mass than the Original

nal.

This Insurrection broke out in July, 1637. The King had some time before caus'd the Liturgy we speak Mutiny at of to be approved in his Council of Scotland. The Pro-Edin-clamation had been published in the Capital of that Kingburgh. dom, without any Appearance of Commotion; but it

dom, without any Appearance of Commotion; but it was one of those hidden Fires, which taking hold without being perceiv'd, in some private obscure Place, produce Conflagrations the harder to be extinguish'd, because they have made the greater Progress before they are discover'd. The Spirit of Rebellion posses'd it felf of the Minds of the People, under that Mask of Submiffion; the Ministers blew the Coles on all fides, and having for fome Months kindled the Fire with fuch Art and Secrecy, and render'd it the more fierce, and intense from the first Original, it broke out in a furious manner on a Sunday appointed for reading of the new Liturgy. The Bishop of Edinburgh had like to have lost his Life. The Earls of Weims and Roxborough narrowly escap'd being ston'd and torn in Pieces. The Lords of the Council having somewhat quell'd that Commotion, by sufpending the Use of the new Ceremonies, it was agreed to acquaint the Court with the ill Consequences of their Publication.

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The lofty Answer the Court return'd to the Council, he Threats to the Mutiniers, and the Punishment inicted on the City of Edinburgh, might perhaps have unted the Ministers and the Rebellious People, had t the Malecontent Nobility join'd them on the one Puritansin nd, and the English Puritans put them in hopes of England werful Affistance on the other. These had a greater restless. tereit than was imagin'd; that Sect being insensibly come almost as formidable in England as it was in Scot-It got footing here in the Reign of Queen Elizab, when after the Death of Queen Mary, the Preaers she had banish'd returning from Geneva and oer Places infected with Calvinism, brought it over with eni. The Profession they made of living conformable the pure Word of God, which got them the Name Puritans; the Difinteressedness they affected; the version they show'd to the Bishops living in Grandeur, d the Spirit of Liberty they glory'd in, and infus'd into the People, deluded very many, who being bent up-Innovation, or as yet uncertain which Party to espouse, nidst so many Errors, found this Sect more agreeable their Temper than any of the others. Queen Eliza. th, who at first did not care what Religion they were provided they were not Catholicks, suffer'd the Calsists to settle, without obstructing them; but they we her a great deal of Trouble, by their opposing the eremonies of the Church of England. She sometimes mplain'd of them very heavily, faying, She well knew at would satisfy the Catholicks, but that the Puritans founded her. She therefore from time to time enaed severe Laws against them. However that Queen ing always Superior enough not to fear them, she ner did them much harm. King James treated them uch after the same manner; and tho' he foresaw they puld in time be able to do Mischief, he disturb'd them for Fear of making himself uneasie; thinking it bugh to give his Son a true Idea of them, and adviting n to root them up, whilft he himself permitted them increase. He thought it would not be too late to atk, and destroy that Sect in the Reign of his Successor, ng Charles was of the same Opinion, but was deceiv'd, d when he thought he had only the Scots Presbyteris to subdue, found them supported by the English, who gan to form such a Party as was dangerous to the Regal

1637. Regal Authority, not only as to Numbers of Men, but of Persons of Distinction, who underhand follow'd their Sect, either profestedly, or for the lake of Faction. They were not sufficiently prepar'd to throw off the Mask at the Time I speak of; it requir'd some Delay to unite their Forces. Thus it was not in their Power to do any more than to encourage the Brethren in Scotland, to stand resolutely to their Rebellion; and putting them in Hopes of the more powerful Affiftance from England, in regard that the Nation in general having been long diffatisfy'd with the Court, as well as the Sect, feem'd to be disposed to Revolt upon the first Opportunity that should offer.

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The Scots feeing themselves so strongly supported on Clamours agairft the all fides, flighted the King's Threats, and his Ministers Declarations. No fooner was the Answer from the King. Court come, but a confused Cry of many thousand Voi ces was rais'd, declaring all was loft, for that the King not fatisfied with invading the Liberties and Properties of the two Nations, did defign to lay a heavier Burden on their Consciences, by imposing a Change of Re-

ligion.

Popery the Pretence.

These Clamours had not prevail'd upon all Sorts of Men, or render'd the Government so odious as the Male contents could wish, unless they had also infinuated, that the King was promoting of Popery, and would impose it upon his People. Nothing was more falle than that Accusation. King Charles was a Protestant by Inclinati on, and never lov'd the Catholicks; yet that Report tho' false, had some Resemblance of Truth, which mad it be easily credited. We must do the Queen so much Juffice as to declare, the was very zealous for the reft ring of the Catholick Religion in England, and for the King her Husband's Honour: Yet it cannot be deny but that she sometimes follow'd that Zeal in a mon lofty manner than fuited with the Times. Being full that Spirit which warms the Blood of absolute Monarch whole Subjects require no other Reason for their Will but that they are fo; she did not well consider, that she reign'd in a Country, where the most folid Reasons not always make the People conformable to their Go vernours. Such a limited Authority, as was not be us'd without Art, feem'd to the Queen no better tha Servitude, which caus'd her to make the utmost Effort

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rescue the King her Husband, and deliver her self mit. Thus, little regarding the nice Temper of the ation, she always kept about her a Nuncio of the pe's, to whose Character or Function no Person at urt was a Stranger. She entertain'd Correspondenwith the Catholick Lords, without taking any Care onceal them. She stood up for every Thing that reded the Church with Authority, and sometimes h Heat; and having a confiderable Number of Cler-Menabout her, who had been restor'd to her by the ce, and whose Discretion was not equal to their Piethe had frequent Controversies with the zealous btestants, wherein the King, who lov'd her, gave her I Liberty, and when flie requir'd it supported her. his Behaviour of the King's towards the Queen had ade it suspected that he was not a thorough Protestant, hat soever he could do to be thought so; and the Zeal herewith he promoted the Archbishop's Design conming that Jealousy, gave his Enemies a good Ground accuse him of being a Catholick, and of contriving in ncert with that Prelate to re-unite England to the See Rome. Laud on his part behav'd himself in such manr, as to administer some Show of Probability to that aloufie.

I know not where the Abbot Siri found what he deliers without the least Probability, concerning that Bilop's Intrigues with Cardinal Barberine, for putting a
rice upon his Conversion. That Writer is not always
fure Guide to be rely'd upon in History. All Mankind
now agreed, that Land was, as well as his Master,
Protestant, very zealous for his Sect, yet there was
len some Ground not to be altogether of that Opinion,
Account of that Prelate's strict adhering to Ceremoles; of the Advice he gave the Students, rather to read
the Fathers than the Protestant Divines; of his refusing
receive the Synod of Dore; and of the Conduct of
the Earl of Strafford in Ireland, who was strictly united

him, and the Confidant of all his Designs. That Earl Strafford's as an able Man, and of singular Resolution. The Charactering himself has left us the Portraiture of him in a look where he gives his own. There that Prince re-resents him as a Genius of the first Rank, whose won-lerful Capacity, so the King expresses himself, might ather make a Prince afraid, than asham'd to employ

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The History of the Revolutions in England.

him in the greatest Affairs; he being furnish'd with such Inblime Qualities, as make those to dare, and to perform much, whose Projects are attended with Success, and whose Merit is favour'd by Fortune. He had been a hot Parliamentarian, when but Sir Thomas Wentworth; the King drew him over by making him an Earl; and he owing his Promotion entirely to the Archbishop, devoted himself wholly to him. That Prelate had obtain'd for him the Government of Ireland, in hopes he would promote his Defigns; and the Earl perceiving that Land was going about to fet the Presbyterians upon the King, had rais'd an Army in that Island to maintain the Royal Prerogative; and tho' he was a Protestant as well as his Master, and his Friend, he had done the Catholicks the Honour to believe them better affected to their Prince than the others, and so had compos'd his Army of them.

Puritans

Much less would have serv'd the Rebels to make the Mutinous. Presbyterian Cause common to all zealous Protestants, and to draw into their Cabal even those that were not of their Sect. Thus that Party daily gathering Strength, they continu'd to conspire in England, till they were in a Condition to declare, and they broke out again in Scotland more furiously than they had done the first time.

Whyencourag'd by France.

The English Historians complain that the new Fire was fed by Foreign Powers, and particularly charge Cardinal Richelieu. The Sincerity due to History makes it unlawful to conceal, that in the Revolution I now fpeak of, France sometimes lent a helping Hand to the wrong Side. I may without Prejudice to the Reputation of our Kings abandon their Ministers to the Censure of Foreign Historians. The mighty Confidence King Lewis the XIIIth. repos'd in the vast Capacity of Cardinal Richelien, may have convinc'd all Europe, that the faid Prince had very little hand in what that Minister did, towards supporting the Rebellion of the Scotsagainst King Charles the Ist. King Lewis the XIVth. being in his Minority, when Cardinal Mazarine treated with the Protector to the Prejudice of King Charles the Ild. is futficient to excuse that Prince for whatsoever was odious in that Treaty. The Father and the Son's Behaviour towards the House of England, after the Death of those two Men, took away all Grounds of suspecting the Sincerity

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erity of their Intentions. When our Masters are clear'd a to that Point, the Nation will be little concern'd for he Actions of their Ministers. But History being a lourt where all Mankind has a Right to expect Justice ould be done them, is not to suppress, as English Autors do, the Reasons that mov'd these two great Policians not to savour the Royal Party of England, at all imes. I shall speak of the Second in the proper Place, nust here treat of the First.

I pass by the Memory of the Isle of Rhee and Rochell, King en Cardinal Richelieu, being upon the Point of crush-Charles the Remains of a powerful Faction, which had so an Enemy ng divided France, met with the unreasonable Oppo-to France.

ion of the Arms of England. Something of a fresher te had provok'd that Minister. In the Year 1637, the rdinal and Prince of Orange had resolv'd to attack the ritime Places in Flanders under the Dominion of in, and defign'd to befiege Dunkirk and Graveling at e same time. For the better prosecuting of this Projest, they had agreed that the Cardinal should prevail h the King of England to observe the Neutrality, thout which they suspected the Success would not be werable. The Cardinal was sufficiently acquainted th the Posture of Affairs beyond the Sea, to flatter infelf that King Charles would be glad to enter into a Eter Alliance with France, fince that Complaifance s to cost him nothing. To this purpose in November dispatch'd the Count D'Estrades, with Orders to apto the Queen of Great Britain, and endeavour to rere him to the good Opinion of that Princes, to whom had been misrepresented; to the end she might use Unterest to prevail with the King her Husband to tinue Neuter; infinuating that France would stand by n at a Time of Need in those Troubles that then dicted his Dominions. Both the King and Queen red this Proposal with equal Contempt. However the een spoke to the King, who answer'd in a haughty mer, That it was not confistent either with his Hor or Interest, to grant the Neutrality demanded; t he stood not in Need of any Man's Help to reduce Subjects to their Obedience; and as for what conh'd the Places in Flanders, he would keep a Fleet dy in the Downs with 1 5000 Land Men. The Queen re the Count this harsh Answer, and added, That as

for what regarded the Cardinal, the was acquainted with his Defigns, that he was no Friend to her, and she ex-

pected nothing from him.

Cardinal Riche-

It is easy to guess what Effect that Refusal and Contempt had in the Mind of so powerful a Minister. The lieu's Re-Misfortunes of the Court of England soon gave him an Opportunity to show his Resentment. There were two Scots at London during the time of the Count D'Estrades's Refidence in that City, who having communicated to him the Posture of Affairs in their Country, and what a turbulent Disposition the People were in, at their coming away, he refolv'd to give the Cardinal an Account of that Adventure in the fame Letters wherein he mention'd the ill Success of his Negotiation. That watchful Minister thought it not fit to let flip an Oppor tenity of finding a Prince Employment at home who threaten'd France. He lost no time, but answer'd the Count D'Estrades, he was glad he had discover'd the Sense of the Court of England, which might have given him much trouble had they known how to conceal it; and fince it was known, they ought to make their Ad vantage of it. He bid him found the two Scots he fpoke of, and that as foon as they were agreed with them, he would fend over to Edinburgh a Scots Priest whose Name was Chamberlain, his own Chaplain, and a trufty Per fon, who should expect them there, and act by their Direction for the common Interest of the two Nations adding, That it should soon appear he was not a Person to be defpis'd, for before a Year were pass'd, the Kin and Queen of England should repent their having rest Eted his Offers. I know not whether he guess'd right: the King and Queen of England's Repentance; they di not feem to be fensible of the Mischief so foon, but the Delay made it the heavier, and more irretrievable The Cardinal's Intrigues fomented the Motions of the Insurretti Scots Rebels, the boldest of whom form'd a Bod which notwithstanding the Inhibitions of the Mag strates, and the Diligence of the King's Officers, g ther'd in several Parts, and became so formidable, the none durst appear to oppose it. King Charles fent them repeated Commands to di

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perfe, to go home, and to submit to their Bishops; claring that those Prelates had done nothing but by Order in publishing the Liturgy. Among the rest, the

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1637.

arl of Traquaire went to them to Sterlin, where they ere gather'd together, to conjure them in the King's . ame to return to their Duty; but instead of perswag, he farther provok'd them; fo that not fatisfy'd The Coveh demanding the abolishing of the new Liturgy, nant. y protested against the five Articles of the Synod of th, the High Commission Court, the Book of Cas, and even Episcopacy it self. Nor was this all, whilst the Earl went back to give the King an Acnt of the Posture of Affairs, they advanc'd to Edingh, where they enter'd into that famous League ey call'd the Covenant; as it were the Compact, or greement between God and his Church, in Imitation that he formerly made with his People, and the ice of Abraham. This was the Comparison they made; bold is Hypocrify to shroud the most wicked Designs der the most holy Outsides. The Parties ingaging the Covenant fign'd an Instrument, which contain'd ree principal Heads; The first was, the Restoring of Confession of Faith, contriv'd in the Year 1580, against e Dostrine of the Church of Rome. The second conin'd a Collection of Scots Acts of Parliament for the Serity of the Reformation. And the third was an Ingageent to reject the new Ways of administring the Saaments, the Episcopal Government, the Ceremonies ought into the Service of late; to defend the King's rson as far as he should defend Religion; to support e another against all those who should go about to ter the Reformation they had receiv'd from their Fore-

This feditious Proceeding deferv'd a speedy Punishent; but befides that King Charles had too much of e good Nature of the Stuarts; it was his peculiar Fault t to make use of necessary Extremes, before he had de trial of several useless Precautions. Another thing The King's s, he had no Money; for having obtain'd none of Concessions e Parliament of England, which had not met a long me, he got very little any other way, and even those Tays and Means he made use of to raise any were consted. Thus after some Time spent in deliberating, hether he should quell the Rebels by Force, or conescend to their Demands, which proceeded partly from

thers; and for the Honour of that Reformation in their

wn Conduct, every one to reform his own Life, and

e Manners of those under his Charge.

1638.

his natural Temper, and partly from Necessity, he refolv'd to try all Methods of Compliance for reducing of them to their Duty. To this Purpose he sent to them Marquis Hamilton, a Man of Parts, and acceptable to the Nation, where he held the highest Rank. That Lord omitted nothing that might gain them; and the King being as defirous of it as he, every thing was granted to oblige them to renounce their scandalous Cove nant. The Liturgy, the Book of Canons, the Five Articles of the Synod of Perth, and the High Commission Court, fell Sacrifices to Peace. The King carry'd the Indulgence fo far, that many of the Confederates, so they call'd those who had fign'd the League, left them, and fign'd another Act call'd the King's Covenant, which came to nothing. Thus the first prevailing, as the last Token of the King's Compliance, they demanded a Na-

Synod at tional Synod. The King granted it, and it was held at Glasco. Glasco on the 21st of November, 1638; but this only ferv'd, notwithstanding all the Endeavours of Marquis Hamilton, who presided for the King, for them to come to such Resolutions as were more opposite to the Regal Authority than those they had taken before. For there they determin'd the utter abolishing of Episcopacy, which was the most disagreeable Point to the King of

all that had been contested.

Voluntary The King perceiving that fair Means did only add to Contributi-the Insolence and Obstinacy of the Covenanters, at last ons to the resolv'd to use Force to reduce them. Having decreed King. to arm, he sought to get Money among his Friends; still holding his Resolution not to convene the Parliament of England. Nor could he find Fault with the Zeal of his faithful Servants upon this Occasion. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and most of his Brethren,

Archbishop of Canterbury, and most of his Brethren, who were more deeply concern'd in the Success of that Warthan others, since it was call'd the Bishop's War, contributed largely. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland gave also a considerable Sum; but none procur'd the Kinggreater Supplies than the Queen, she having ingag'd the Catholicks to furnish most of the Charge of that

He raises Army. The King having got Money, rais'd Forces, and an Army appointed their Rendevouz at York, whether he went 1639. himself in April, 1639. after sending his Navy, under the Command of Hamilton, to cruise on the Coast of

Sectland.

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The Rebels, on the other hand, wanted neither Couge, nor Force to defend themselves. Alexander Lesley, Officer who had learn'd the Trade of War under Lesley e great Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden, had been General of e of the Contrivers of the Solemn League and Cove-the Rebelse t. Having been refus'd some Preferment he had manded, he went over to that Party, where being in at Reputation, he became one of their Chiefs, was chosen General of the Forces against the

g. oth fides march'd eagerly enough, till they were A treachehin fight of one another; but when they came to rous Treat, they both found so many Reasons to prefer Peace ty. ore War, as willingly to give Ear to those who inter-'d for an Accommodation. The King and the Coanters were equally inclin'd to it, but upon different ws. The King would have Peace because he lov'd it; Covenanters were for it, hoping they should withany Hazard reap the same Advantage by it, as they d by the War, by means of the private Friends they about the King, and whom that Prince employ'd in Treaty. In short, those treacherous Agents, being Presbyterians, and perceiving their Party was not fure enough of Victory, were afraid, if the King ld get the better, that the Assistance of the Scots ng them, they must fink at once, and remain expos'd Il the ill Will that Prince seem'd to bear their Sect. he Persecution of the Archbishops, and the Insults of Episcopal Party. It was certainly upon this View, they, abufing the Disposition the King show'd for te, contriv'd fuch a fraudulent Treaty, that neither knew their own Articles, when it was made puband the King purchas'd some Formalities, and false missions, at the Price of a full Liberty he granted Covenanters to attempt and do any Thing against his ice, by allowing them a free Synod, and a Parliato ratify its Decrees.

nis vile Treaty being concluded about the Middle False Artine, and the Army disbanded, the King return'd to cles printon, whilst the Earl of Traquaire went in his Name edreside at the Synod, which was held in August at burgh, and in the Parliament which follow'd soon

No sooner was the King got home, than the bishop of Canterbury, and the rest of his Party.

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and was the more fully confirm'd in it, because the Synod of Edinburgh only confirm'd that of Glasco, and abusing the Liberty granted it, to attempt yet farther, pass'd. Decree, obliging all the Nation to sign the Covenant At the same Time was publish'd a Paper, printed by Order of the Covenanters, containing the Articles of the Peace; which being brought to the King, he open protested, that the Articles were falsify'd, and order that Pamphlet to be burnt by the Common Hang Mar The Parliament of Scotland was sitting when this fresh

gan to enter upon many other Points; but the King di not allow them Time, having order'd his Commission to dissolve them.

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Provocation happen'd. They complain'd of it, and by

Preparations for War.

No Man question'd but these mutual Discontent would foon cause the War to break out again. The Kin was fully refolv'd upon it, and thought he had all the Reason in the World to expect Success. The Archi shop of Canterbury, and his Friend the Earl of Straffor had put Things into fuch a Posture as might render hi formidable to his Enemies. Besides a considerable Su of Money that Earl obtain'd of the Parliament of Irela he had conven'd, he had prevail'd with the King confent, that the Army of Catholicks he kept up for Service, and which were the only Troops that Prin could rely upon, should attend him in that Expedition Chance had also offer'd the King an Opportunity, whi he thought would certainly fecure the English to his remove all danger of convening their Parliament, a procure him confiderable Supplies from them. This A vantage was a Letter from the Covenanters to the Ki of France, wherein they, pursuant to the ancient Am between the two Nations, implor'd his Protection Support, for the Defence of their Laws and Libert against their Oppressors. This Letter had been in cepted by the King, being fign'd, among the rest, the Earl of Lowden, one of the Scots Deputies, and the Earl of Dunfermeling, who was then in London, by which Earls were committed to the Tower; and Letter produc'd in the Parliament the King had ven'd in April, 1640.

Scots correspond with France.

1640.

The King did not question but that such a Correspondence with a Foreign Potentate, and more particular

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with France, must appear to the Parliament as one of 1640. e most unpardonable of all Crimes. He represented in the most heinous Manner, and concluding with the The Parliecessity of the War, demanded the Assistance of that ament imsembly, to defray the Charge, offering to purchase it placable. h a solemn Renunciation of the Maritime Rights he tended to. No fooner had the King ended his Speech, he perceiv'd by the Looks of his Auditors, that he not mov'd them. The Parliament remitted nog of their constant Practice of opposing his Will. e Letter produc'd made no Impression on them, and Earl of Louden Justify'd the Covenanters in such a ufible Manner, by the Turn he gave it, and the ofs he produc'd, that it had not been sent, that it all to the Ground at once, and was never more spoken As for the War with Scotland, the Parliament de-'d, That England did not look upon it as an Affair that cern'd them; but rather as an Incroachment on the erty of a friendly Nation, and strictly united to r own, that so the one might follow the Fate of the er. That touching what the King faid of renounthe Right of raising Money in the Sea Ports, it m'd very odd, that he should require his People to off an Usurpation he had made upon them. All this led to a Refusal of his Demand, which had not been et positively given, when a base piece of Treachery duc'd it, with all the most disagreeable Circumstanto the King. Henry Vane, a notable Traytor, was retary of State. A few Days after the Opening of Parliament, the King had fent him thither to dend the Sum he had agreed in Council to require; hoping that Affembly would not perfift in its Obcy to the last. Vane had Orders to demand twelve fidies, to they reckon the Money the Parliament s the King, each Subsidy amounting to near Fifey uland Pounds Sterling, Vane, as I laid, had Or- Vane's to demand twelve Subfidies, but to fall to fix, Treachery! the least Opposition. That perfidious Wretch, was already gone over to the King his Master's

mies, infifted shiffly upon twelve, with a Defign to

roke the Party, and succeeded so well, that the

fament absolutely refus'd, and the King dissolv'd Dissolution

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This fresh Misunderstanding between the King and 1640. his People puff'd up the Puritans of both Kingdoms, Scots in Those in Scotland had recourse to Arms again; the Eng. Arms. life repeated their Cabals, and the King foon found that the Contrivances of the latter did him more harm, than the Arms of the former.

In short, were it not for the Plots of the English, the Thousand Power of Scotland had done him little harm. He still Irish serve found Forces enough. The Earl of Strafford Sent him the King. 8000 good Men out of Ireland, and had the English been Loyal, he might have rais'd more Troops than wen requisite to subdue Scotland. Nor did he want Money for his Friends once more supply'd the Defects of the Parliament.

Mutinies

He fet out somewhat late from London, staying in London quell some Mutinies rais'd about that Time against h Authority, and his faithful Servants, in all likelihoo by the Presbyterian Party, then become powers enough, as will now appear, to raife much greater Con motions than those in the Kingdom. Rossetti, the Pope Nuncio to the Queen narrowly escap'd being murder and was oblig'd to depart the Kingdom; but no Ma was nearer perishing in these popular Tumults than the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Puritans look'd up him as their greatest Enemy, nor were they mistake He had very lately, whilft the Parliament was fitting held the Convocation with his Brethren at St. Paul's London, where new Canons had been made in Favour Episcopacy, and Measures taken for extirpating of Pro bytery in England. No Man question'd his being t Occasion of all the Contradictions they met with in So land, or the King's being influenc'd by his Friend a him in all the vigorous Resolutions he took to redu them. Among other things they were charg'd with havi caus'd the last Parliament to be diffolv'd, for fear th should oppose, as was reported they intended, the that was then in hand, which it was believ'd the Ki undertook by their Advice. It is likely that a Paper this Time posted up in London, stirring up the Appre ces to burn the Archbishop's Palace at Lambeth, was t Product of the continual Mortifications the Cabal ceiv'd from him that then own'd it. He was set up one Night in his House by that Rabble, who would tallibly have murder'd him, had he not stood upon

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uard, and had Men about him, who repuls'd the Af-1640. lants so vigorously, that they had no Mind to renew eir Efforts.

This was only an Essay of the Puritans, whilst they Puritan ted an Opportunity for a more decifive Attempt, to Practices, lish the Regal Authority, with which both the Bips and Episcopacy were to fall. I say the Regal hority, not the Person, and Dignity; for so much he must be done the Presbyterians we speak of, as eclare they did not defign to carry on the Villany r; and that in the infamous Work, which is the ject of this Book, they only prepar'd the Victim, ich another more bloody Sect facrific'd.

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upon Gua To begin with what relates to them; the renewing he War, having set their Heads a working afresh, Factious Party study'd how to make their Advane, whilst the King prepar'd to take the Field. That ty daily increasing, concluded they should find Conrates enough in the Army to corrupt some Branch whilst those they had at Court improving the Deor the Disadvantages that Corruption of the King's ops might produce, would eafily prevail upon that ce, naturally addicted to Peace, and weary of a blesome War, to consent to a second Accommodainto which they might be in a Condition to foist uch Articles as might conduce to bring about their gns. According to this Project they drew their eme ; first to oblige the King to call a Parliament, ch they were able to fill with Members that were heir Interest; and secondly, to contrive that the ny in Scotland should be kept on Foot whilst the iament, fat, under colour of terminating all their erences with the King in that Assembly; but in Reto support all its Attempts upon the Sovereignty. Success of their first Contrivances render'd the latinfallible.

he Preliminary Part of the War was so disadvanta-Scots Mais to the King, through the ill Conduct of one part flers in the is Troops, that before he could reach York, the Ene-North. were Masters of most of the North of England. Conhad been fent with 3000 Foot, and Wilmot with b Horse to secure the Passes on the Tyne. They had ed themselves at Newburn, where they thought y would have attempted to pals rather than in any

1640,

other Place. It fell out as they had conceiv'd; but another thing hap ned which they had not foreseen, and was, that their Troops made little Refistance. Their Infantry fled at the first Charge; the Cavalry stood longer, but was broken at last, Wilmon taken, the Pals forc'd, and then Newburn enter'd. The Enemy posses'd themselves of New-Castle, Durham, and other Places of Note.

Strafford's vice.

The English Presbyterians could not expect a more fa vourable Conjuncture to bring about their Defigns. The boneft Ad- King was no fooner come to the Rendevouz, where he was to have begun the War, than he found himfelf un der a Necessity to think of making Peace. It is true the Earl of Strafford thought that Necessity much less co gent than he did. That Great Man, who was to com mand the Army, was fully perswaded, that fince the King under those Circumstances could make but a di advantagious Peace, he ought to try the utmost Extre mity of War. He offer'd to maintain it with his Iri Troops, on whom he could rely; to whom if never few English of known Fidelity were found, he could a well enough without those that were suspected, and undertook to repulse the Scots with only such as wer Loyal.

The King rejects it.

The King argu'd after another manner. He grante as well as the Earl, that the Peace must needs be pre judicial to his Honour and Authority; but he fancy'd Truce, under which he imagin'd both might be lecur He faw two discontented Nations, almost united tog ther, notwithstanding their ancient Antipathy, to n belagainst him: and believ'd, if he should content of of them, and join himfelf to it, the other would have no way left but to fubmit. Upon this Conceit, hepp pos'd to contrive a Ceffation of Arms, to call a Parl ment during that time, in which he flatter'd him felf he might gain the Affections of the English, eff cing all the Jealoufies they had conceiv'd against him by extraordinary Compliance, Condescentions and So he fays himfelf in his Book I mention Grants. before, where that Prince drawing his own Ports ture, professes he gives the Publick an Account of most private Thoughts; protesting he had on his ow Judgment follow'd that Method, tho' the most dang rous.

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It was not he alone that contriv'd. The Puritans ere more bufy than he, and had already fecur'd a numr of Lords, most of whom were their own Creatures, Is betray's propose to him that Method to prevent the Civil ir that threatned the Nation. The King having conted, affembled the Peers, and agreed with them, to ke a Proposal to the Sents, who tho'in Arms did not ear to present Petitions under the Name of Dutiful jects, for a time, during the which the Parliament ald meet, and with the King's Confent, regulate all feem'd convenient for the Peace of the two Nations, the good Understanding between the Prince and Subjects. The Scots held too fettled Correspondence h the English Presbyterians, not to be of the lame nd with them. They only made their Protest, that eferring their Concerns to the Parliament of England, y did not mean in the least to prejudice the Indepence of their own Nation; which having been lufficideclar'd, a Place to treat in was agreed on. The would have had it at York ! but Lefley would not ent, because the Earl of Strafford was there, at the d of the Troops, and the Scott look'd upon him as r personal Enemy. The Town of Rippon was agreed Dishonous whither Sixteen English Lords repair'd as the King's Truce. uties, but most of them of the Puritan Faction gas ciently appear'd not only by their Behaviour afterds, but by the Treaty they concluded, which was els fatal to the King, than favourable to his Enemies. ford opposed it all he could, and labour'd to diffiwade King from admitting the Conditions, which were elsprejudicial to his Honour, than destructive to his sority. But that Prince finding himself in no Conn to hold on a vigorous Resolution, thought Nety might excuse him from condescending. By this ry it was stipulated, that both Armies should be on foot; that there should be a Truce berween for two Months; that during the faid time the Army should receive 850 Pounds a Day, Subce, which they were allow'd to raife on the Counof Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmortand, and Biffroprick of Durham; and that on default of Pay-, they might continue in those Counties, where should have Winter Quarters.

The History of the Revolutions in England,

.4640. Reception in London.

Factions

Arts.

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The Hopes of Peace comforting the King, for the ill Success of the War, he return'd to London better satis-The King's fy'd, and summon'd the Parliament to meet on the 3d of November. He took the Reception he met with at his Return, and the Joy the People express'd to see him, as a good Omen of the favourable Disposition he should find in the Parliament, to concur with him towards fettling the Peace of the Nation. The Artifices us'd by the Puritans at the Elections of Members to ferve in Parliament, gave him Cause to suspect and fear; but the Confidence he repos'd in the House of Lords, and the Reso. lution he had taken to purchase Peace by Concessions, recover'd and made him hope, that the Commons would become tractable, and show a Moderation suitable to his Condescention. This prov'd the most dangerous Mistake that Prince had yet been guilty of. The Pur tans having made the Parliament their own, as being mostly compos'd of Members of their Sect, or Faction were refoly'd to improve that Advantage towards pulling down that Authority which flood between them and the Sovereignty; and contrary to the King's Expectation to encroach upon his Prerogative, according as the found themselves strong, and him yielding.

Speech to ment.

TheKing's Thus were Men dispos'd, at the opening, on the Da appointed, of that Bloody Parliament, as an Engli the Parlia-Author calls it, which Murder'd King Charles the Fire and by a till then unparalell'd Revolution overthrew th English Monarchy with its Monarch. The King at the first coming together made a Learned Speech, and ver proper to have gain'd them, had they been that way! clin'd. The Troubles in Scotland, said his Majesty mong other things, have been the Occasion of the Sitting this Parliament, but the Confidence I have in you is principal Motive, together with my Defire to give Satis Hion to the Complaints of some among you, touching fever Points of Government. I am fully refolv'd to put my upon your Affections, even as to those Things which rega my Self, and consequently much more in what concerns Publick, wherein we have both an equal Interest. Your find such Sincerity and Frankness in my Proceedings, as s remove all the Jealoufy you have conceiv'd of my Defu and shall plainly perceive, that your Liberties were no safer under any Reign than mine. I only recommend Things to your Consideration; The first, To find out

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1640.

roper Means to drive the Rebels from our Frontiers, which sey have so boldly invaded. The Second, to do it speedily, at the Northern Counties may not sink under the Oppression of two Armies, that live upon, and regard them as Secures to surnish all their Wants. In all other Respects, you Il find me so easy, and desirous to give you Satisfaction, to much Trouble will be saved, and the Time that would rwise be spent in Debates may be employ'd in Executing thall be agreed.

All the King's obliging Expressions to the Parliament Their Inhis Speech found but an indifferent Reception, in re-Jolent Prod of the Resentment they express'd for his calling the ceedings.

Rebels. His Majesty being inform'd of it, had the odness the next Day to soften that Word, by giving nother Turn. The ill Success his Compliance met h, ought to have immediately wrought upon him. o' some little Regard was had to his Person in their wers to his Speech, yet they so boldly inveigh'd not the Faults in his Government, laying them all his Ministers, that all Men of Sense plainly perd, he was likely to render the Disease incurable by Condescention, which had been occasion'd by his diness. The Parliament becoming sensible of their ngth, as the King mistrusted his own, to renthemselves the more formidable, were resolv'd to t it, by discharging the three Seditious Writers the hbishop had caus'd to be imprison'd. They were lucted along the Streets with much Pomp, in Trihant Manner, attended by above Five Thousand of People, and One Hundred Coaches to the Parliament le, where they were not only acquitted, but commenand extoll'd as Champions of the Publick Liberty.

ter these first Proceedings, they incroach'd upon the More of without any Modesty, or in the least tempering them. continual Vexation they gave him, for near two s together, that he patiently endur'd their Persecunhopes of overcoming it at last, without any other, but a few Supplies they granted him at the Price Prerogative, and some cold Thanks when they dhim to part with the most valuable Flowers of the m. In which Particular it is hard to decide, who he greatest Cause to blush, whether the King slways granting what soever his Subjects winso-

llways granting whatfoever his Subjects infoy demanded, or the Subjects for continually deman-

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1640.

ding that which their King was compell'd to grant. The Proceedings of the Parliament of England being of no Force, unless consented to and ratify'd by the Sove. reign. King Charles was oblig'd to become himself the Instrument of his own, and his Servants Ruin. Perfecution began with them; and the Catholicks being always the first Victim that falls a Sacrifice to Publick Peace, they were now represented as greater Offenden than ever, for having furnish'd the King with Money to carry on the War against the Rebels of Scotland. Their Zeal for their Sovereign's Service was look'd upon as a unpardonable Crime. They had scarce so much Tem per as to forbear profecuting the Queen for having fun ply'd her Husband. Some intercepted Letters of he Majefty's were openly read in Parliament, wherein for exhorted those of her own Religion to supply the Kin with some Money for reducing of the Rebels. She w fain to excuse, and the Records were search'd for Prea dents of Queens that had been brought to Tryal. Co fidering the Humour the Parliament was in, and the Temper of that Princes, it is very likely, that hadit n been for the Regard that Body then had for France, Queen might have produc'd some extraordinary Scen to ferve as an Introduction to the King's Catastrophe. ter fuch bold Strokes, it was not at all furprizing to the Archbishop, and the brave Lord Lieutenant of land, committed to the Tower, for High Treason, cause they had been Loyal to their Master. Matthew Wil Bishop of Norwich, was also committed, but let out on Bail. Windebank, Secretary of State, and John Fin Keeper of the Great Seal, withdrew, the first into Fra the other into the Low-Countries. They were both Su mon'd, and proceeded against. The Archbishop Lord Lieutenant were both executed, but the first them much later: The Earl's Fate was hastned, by a! some of his Friends, and the King's faithfulest Servi were accus'd of contriving, to refcue him from Tower, and put him at the Head of the Trufty Army, in order to deliver the King from the Slavery Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Jen was under. Wilmot, Afaburnham, and others, were profecuted on count of that Attempt. The King himfelf was fulped and very near being charg'd with it as a Crime. It an unpardonable Offence in the Earl of Strafford to hi

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tempted an Escape, and from that time they press'd his Tryal. No Pains were spar'd to make him guiland yet all the Artifices of his Enemies could not ng it about; but it was refolv'd he should be so. His unjust us none of the Mildemeanours laid to his Charge be- Condemsufficient, or well enough prov'd to reach his Life, nation. as refolv'd to pass Sentence for Accumulative Treaby putting together several Acculations to form one ne; a fort of Proceeding never before heard of, and th they then declar'd should never be a Precedent; tho' the King oppos'd it, making a Speech in his alf, he was condemn'd to Death. he King had never made much Difficulty of passing The King thing the Parliament demanded, till they brought compell'd that unjust Sentence. He oppos'd a long time, not-to confent. istanding the Multitude, set on by the House of nmons, mutiny'd to compel him, laying afide all Respect due to his Person, and using rude Expressito his Face. Some he took for his Friends, but who then betraying of him, made a greater Impression, ing him to comply with the Cries of the People; the Authority of fuch a Court as the Parliament of and. Some Judges, and even Bishops, declar'd he at Lawfully do it: The Earl himfelf was fo geneas not only to confent that he should do it; but to press him earnestly and often, by learned, and ated Letters. In which Case it may be said, that Love seduc'd that Great Man, by bending his ughts so entirely upon performing an Heroick Actis not to reflect that he advis'd his Master to one was beneath a King. Juron, Bishop of London, Bishop d a Reputation, which ought to be render'd Im-Juxon's al in History, by always advising that Prince, to Integrity. w the Dictates of his Conscience, which was averle he Signing of a Sentence, on any Pretence whatfothat he thought Unjust. And the King blam'd elf for it as long as he liv'd, looking upon that nels as the Cause of all his Misfortunes. In thort, Sin was one of those which carry their Punishment with them, and naturally produce it abstractly the Remorfe of Conscience, and the Chastisement eaven. It is not to be believ'd, how much this on heightned the Insolence of the King's Enemies, oldening them to demand what soever was most pre-D 4 judi-

40 The History of the Revolutions in England,

folid Foundation of Justice in him, which render'd this Compliance the more disagreeable to him, rather pity'd than blam'd him; but Time made it appear, that even a good Master, who has been once found to forsake his Servants, finds few that will stick by him, when he is forsaken by Fortune.

1641. Strafford's

Death.

After the King had fign'd the Earl of Strafford's Death, he made a fresh Effort to save him, sending a most moving Letter to the House of Lords, to defire the Penalty might at least be chang'd, and that instead of taking his Life, they would rest contented, that he might spend the rest of it in some reasonable Confine ment, where he could hurt no Body. The Prince of Wales carry'd the Letter, and the Lords confented to it; but the House of Commons bore the Sway, and il had so often appear'd that there was no Opposing them without worle Consequences, that they being obstinant in their Resolution, none durst contradict them. Prince return'd, re infesta, and the Earl was executed on the 12th of May, 1641. He dy'd like a Great Mas as he had liv'd. A Catholick Writer of that Time, di not rightly confider, when he faid, he dy'd like a Tru Christian. He Dies not like a True Christian, wh Dies not in the True Church. That Lord's Enemie to make him odious, accus'd him with having favour it in Ireland, but it is certain he did not own it, an dy'd in his Error.

Scots The Cabal believ'd the King's Authority was not suff Rebels en-ciently depress'd, by destroying his Friends, unless the courag'd. also heap'd Praises and Rewards on his Enemies. The

Parliament gave the Scots no other Name but that Brethren; the War they had made against the Kinshaving chang'd an Antipathy of Fifteen Hundred Year standing into a strict Union. Tho' they had their Deputies at London, to take Care of what concern'd them they were spar'd the Labour of Solliciting. The Parliment did more than they could have done themselves oblige the King to ratify the Decrees of their Synod in Relation to the Extent of the Covenant, the Suppressing of Episcopacy, and many other Particulars, which had been the Occasion of the War. Their Army was kept on Foot till August, that is, till the Parliames found themselves strong enough to act without it; and

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farther Acknowledgment of the good Service done those Troops, they were allow'd Three Hundred ouland Pounds for the Charge of the War, besides r Pay. It was farther order'd, that all Proclama-, and Declarations let out against them should be void, and of no Effect; and to crown all, a pub-Thanksgiving was appointed in all the Churches ondon for the happy Conclusion of the Peace. the same Time that they thus cherish'd the King's The King's nies, they stripp'd him of his Revenues, his Autho-Concessions his Prerogative, or rather compell'd him to part all, by paffing whatfoever they impos'd. Thus he ented to yield up all the Duties his Predecessors had then rais'd without the Concurrence of the Parliat, and which they had always look'd upon as a nch of the Sovereignty. The Judges were punish'd, had given Judgment for the King in Trials between and the People concerning those Duties. The rts, whose Jurisdictions regarded him more than rs, were suppress'd. They compell'd him to pass an for Triennial Parliaments, which oblig'd him to call n every Three Years; and in Case of Failure on his , the Keeper of the Great Seal, and the Chancellor ne Dutchy of Lancaster, were impower'd to convene

od. his last Step was the fatal Stroke that drove the King n his Ruin, and which he could never recover. hkind was so surpriz'd, as to believe there must be he politick End in it. The general Opinion was, at he did not grant so much, but in order to revoke and that he underhand was preparing for War, the Sword might cut all those Knots he made with Pen. He clears himself of this Imputation in his Econ Ba-

nd they to be actually incapable of ferving thole

loyments, if they omitted so to do. In short, That

iament, which was so eager upon Unkinging of him,

vail'd so far, as not to be Dissolv'd without the Conof both Houses, which should continue Sitting as

as they should think it convenient for the publick

k, as a Proceeding quite opposite to the Sincerity slike. profess'd. That Book was compos'd at a Time, when vas his Interest to speak after that Manner, tho' in lity the Matter had been otherwise. He was a Prier in the Hands of his Enemies, and at their Mercy,

yet not wholly despairing of an Accommodation; that it was of the highest Consequence to him to me move all Jealoufy of any double Defigns. It plain appears that Book was compos'd to be read by other besides his Friends.

So that the faid Book is not a convincing Argumen of the King's being so Impolitick, as he would appear to have been, to be thought fincere. Upon weighing all the Reasons pro and contra, considering that Prince Temper, and his Way of expressing himself, I am in clin'd to allow of his Sincerity, to the Prejudice of hi Policy; and that it is true, as he assures us, that whe he pass'd that Act, he had no other View, than who he had from the Beginning, which was to purchal Peace of his Subjects by Favour and Condescention; n ver confidering, that the Favours he granted left his no more to beitow, and that such a Confidence in hi Enemies could have no other Effect, but to embolde them to wrong, and impower them to hurt him. There was more Reason to believe, a while after

that he had some Defign in a Journey he undertook in Scotland, during the Seffion of Parliament. He had the enfines to labour'd eight Months in vain to gain upon the Rebel

werds the lious Minds of that Assembly, by an unlimited Good ness and Condescention. He had done more for them than ever the boldest and most jealous Parliament thought of demanding of any Prince. Nothing would content them; every Day produc'd fresh Demands, the granting whereof was fo far from obtaining any Ac knowledgment, or Gratitude, that the only Return was in publick Complaints, and private Railleries, wherein his Condescention was attributed to Weakness. He plainly perceiv'd, that by their Way of Behaviour to wards him, unless he alter'd his Methods with them, he must at last be reduc'd to think himself happy, if the would allow him the Name of a King. In short, On of the Cabal asking another, what more they could all of a Prince who had granted them so much; the other with an unheard of Insolence, answer'd, They expected he should lay down that Authority he had made an ill Use of, and put himself entirely upon them. The King was fensible that was their Defign, and that all their Steps tended no other way. As long as he faw Things in any Probability of being kept within the Bounds of

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ind, on; to re plain other umer appea ighin rince am in of hi t whe n wha rcha n; ne ft hin in hi oolde after kinu d the Rebel Good them ment would s, the y Ac n wa nereit . He ur to m, he they , One ld all other e Eted an ill

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deration by several of the Peers, and even by some 1641. 1-meaning Persons in the House of Commons, who e only led away to oppose him by the Spirit of the ion, and the Conceit of their Liberties; he had er'd himself, that being resolv'd in that Particular ant more than could well be ask'd, they would at Time had now manifested, that he be satisfy'd. ess Cause to fear the Genius of the Nation, than that e Presbyterian Sect, which had so far prevail'd by rtifices, as to rule the Parliament. The Puritans gain'd the Multitude, the Apprentices, and all that es Mutinies formidable in great Cities. They difd of them at pleasure, and made Use of them when had a mind to pals any Law, to extort the Votes hose that did not concur with them, and even the g's Affent. A confiderable Number of honest Men g hereupon withdrawn from that Affembly upon fe-Il Pretences, those who remain'd found themselves Danger of er a Necessity, either through Weakness to consent being Loyal hat which in their Judgment they condemn'd, or to bear the Penalty of their Uprightness in such Ins as afterwards ferv'd to colour their Frailties. In Case of the Earl of Strafford, the Names of Fifty e of the worthiest, and soberest Persons in the two ifes, had been fet up on the Gates at Westminster, and er publick Places, to expose them to the Brutality of People, because they would not consent to condemn lan they believ'd to be innocent. The greatest Mawas against the Bishops, who were thought to be n to the King; and those Prelates could not go to House, without Danger of being murder'd by the bble, who had affronted several of them. Thus the Puritan Faction had almost gain'd the So-TheKing's eignty in Church and State. The Church of England Friends s quite chang'd, and knew not its own Liturgy, so persecuted. eat an Alteration had been made in it. The Hierarchy daily threaten'd with Ruin, by the Measures taken abolishing of Episcopacy. The King was tormented all Sides. He had no longer the Liberty of beflow-Employments in his own Houshold, but was often

mpell'd to confer them on his Enemies. The Earl of nbroke and the Lord Maltravers, eldest Son to the rl of Arundel, had a Contest in the House of Lords, Account of a Letter this last read there. The Earl accuThe History of the Revolutions in England.

accusing him, that he did not read right, Maltrav gave him the Lie, whereupon Pembroke giving his two Strokes with his Rod, they were parted, and con mitted to the Tower. The King took the Bufiness Hand, and the Earl being one of his most profess d En mies, he was glad to have this Occasion of taking from him his Office of Lord Chamberlain of the Houshold but was oblig'd to bestow it on the Earl of Esfex, who perhaps he did not so much mislike, but who, as Tin show'd, was as little to be trufted. The Favour th King show'd to any Man, was look'd upon as a sufficie Caufe to perfecute him. The Catholicks he bore with because they were serviceable to him, had never bee more moletted. The Queen's Servants were ever Day brought upon the Stage, and it was not out of an Respect to their Mistress, or the King, that they we not proceeded against to the utmost, but in regards France, which they thought proper to keep fair with and even that Management was the Effect of the Parli ment's Opposition to the Court, which still continu very averse to France, or rather to the Minister that govern'd it. All Things conspir'd to heighten this Di Queen of like. The Intrigue in Scotland had been known. France in of Medica, who had withdrawn her felf to her Daughte England. the Queen of England, was an Object that render'd the

Cardinal odious, without speaking. Those who had follow'd that Queen, and besides them the Duke of Ven dome, Monfieur de Soubize, the Duke De la Valete, and feveral other Malecontents, who were then together in London, did not endeavour to reconcile Things. The Dutchess of Chevreuse, who was busy contriving in the Low Countries how to molest that Minister, held much Correspondence with those Princesses; and it was not question'd in France, but that so many disgusted Wo men would conspire to unite the King of England with the House of Austria, whose Ministers had daily Conferences with the Queen's, and the King himself was often present.

That Maxim of the Gospel, which prescribes doing Good for Evil, being very little practis'd among Polithe Parlia- ticians, Cardinal Richelieu was not so favourable to the King of England, as became the strict Alliance betwixt the two Kings, and the very Honour of Royalty. There

was yet no open Breach. There were reciprocal Am-

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French apply to ment.

adors on both Sides; but those of Spain in England fo great an Interest at Court, that the French were effitated to apply to the Parliament, which was the e favourable to them, as having made it their Rule ppose their Prince in all Things.

is Spirit of Contradiction, which was not to be ify'd by so much Condescention, had put it into ling's Mind, that fince he could not be belov'd, he put himself into a Condition to be fear'd; that it h vain to be yielding, for as long as he was weak, same Weakness would render his Goodness no way htagious to his Quiet, and in the End destructive

s Crown. pon this Confideration, wherein all his Friends ed with him, he refolv'd to change that Method Friends the ndulgence and Condescention, into Steadiness, and King bad. haviour more becoming the Crown; but being fen-, that Courage and Resolution, if not supported trength, only ferve to fall more nobly, he enour'd to gain a Party that might be able to oppole arliament. He was sure of several Noble Men, some hom had firmly adher'd to his Fortune, others out Sense of Justice were fallen off from the adverse y, and only waited for an Opportunity to declare for

The Commons themselves were not so throughly uch'd, but that there were some honest Men, that rr'd the extravagant Proceedings of the Puritans. ney, the Lord Mayor of London, was for the King, ere the Catholicks, for whom the Queen undertook niwer. Befides, the King was perswaded, that the ce of Orange, who was his Son in Law, and rul'd in Holland, would affift him in a Time of Need. re was also good Ground to hope well from Ireland. s he perceiv'd that his Friends being united, would ble to form a powerful Party against his Enemies, ided he could but diminish the Number of them, th was grown too great by the Union of two Na-

hilft his Thoughts were thus employ'd, the De-The Scots es of the Scots to the Parliament of England, having invite the in'd all they could expect from that Affembly, were King. ecting to prevail with the King to go hold their iament at Edinburgh, to ratify all he had granted in there. It is easy to believe, that under the Cir-

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cumstances the King then was, he did not require mud intreating. Being well pleas'd with that Opportunit of regaining the Scots, he promis'd to undertake the Journey, and acquainted the Parliament of Engla with his Intention. This Message made a great Noil among them, and they conceiv'd the more Jealou because the Queen, on the other Hand, design'd to beyond the Sea, under Colour of going to the Spaw, with her Mother, who was return'd in Flanders.

Practices

The Parliament exclaim'd against both Journeys, a to flop him. left no Stone unturn'd to obstract them. The Que defisted from hers; but the King declar'd he would out. Several Remonstrances were made to him, a Preparations to use Force to stop him. The Bufine had been concerted with the Apprentices, but the Co fideration, that if the King was already engag'd with Scots, the stopping of him would only ferve to incent them, and haften their breaking with the Parliamet prevented their proceeding to that audacious Violence They only intreated the King to put off his Journey in a Fortnight, because they were actually setting out disband the Armies that were on the Frontiers, and was not proper for him to meet with that of Scotland his Way. The King understood their Meaning, a perceiv'd they fought their own Security, under cold of providing for his, as fearing he might in his Wa gain the Scots Forces. He would not therefore yield them, and granted but two Days instead of a Fortnight ordering his Retinue to be ready by the third. Neith would he consent to the Request they made him, " der Pretence of dispatching Business, to appoint the Earl of Effex his Commissioner for passing of Acts. B that they might not have Cause to complain that h Refusal put a stop to their Proceedings, he appoint feven Lords, who by Plurality of Votes should pa fuch Acts as they thought he would confent to himfe and the Earl of Effex was one of that Number; but the Parliament perceiving that Commission would be of Advantage to them, by reason of the Character of thou Persons whom the King entrusted, they would not He fets mit of it. Hereupon the King left them, and having taken his Leave of the Queen, who retir'd to Oatland

with the Princes and Princesses, he fet out for Scotlan

Under the Family of the Stuarts, &c.

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ugust. In his Way he saw the two Armies, which not disbanded till some time after, and paid him Honour. A Scots Writer fays, he founded fome Country Officers, in order to prevail with them n their Troops to his Party, to be employ'd in ng the Parliament of England, and this the faid or represents as a Crime, in that Prince, equal to Il other Nations in the World would have reit in rebellious Subjects, that should have ated to debauch their King's Army; fo much do eople of that Island differ from all the rest of ind.

g Charles met with fuch a Reception at Edinburgh, e him cause to hope his Journey would prove sucl, and the more he advanc'd in Bufiness, the more opes increas'd. It is true, that at the Opening of rliament they oblig'd the Lords belonging to the who were to fit there to fign the Covenant; but ing being refolv d to grant every Thing to gain Affections, he made no difficulty of confending

A panick Fear feiz'd Marquis Hamilton, and the False Re of Argyle, upon a Report spread abroad, without ports hown Author, that there was a Delign to murder against and other Lords of the Country. The Sufpicion was aliciously cast upon the King, as some pretended, Emiffaries of the English Parliament. This Ac-, which oblig'd those Lords to absent themselves ew Days, caus'd fome little Commotion; but was m that blew over of it felf. No Man could believe ing guilty of so vile an Action, which was fufficidisprov'd by his Character, and upright, and Behaviour, without standing in need of any other gy. So that Trouble was foon over; the Clouds i'd, and the Lords return'd. However, the King not forbear letting Hamilton know that he refententertaining fuch an injurious Opinion of him. it him in Mind, that he had taken a quite opposite e with him, when being inform'd that he had his against his Person, he had made him lie in his hamber. This Reproach was a great Confusion to He obliges ton, and agreeably redoubled by the fresh Favourthe Scots, ing granted, of raising him to the Dignity of a at the same Time that he created Lesley Earl of

That General was so supriz'd at an Honour he

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1641

had fo ill deferv'd, and had fo little reason to exped 1641. that in a Transport he protested, he would never be Arms against so good a Master. The extraordinary L berties that Prince granted the Nation, working the like Effect upon the main Body of it, those were declar accurfed that should presume to raise Forces without Orders from the King; and they all folemnly promit

never to take up Arms against him.

King Charles believing he had done a great Matter Returns to depriving the Parliament of England of the Support London. the Scots, which had made them fo Infolent, return to London, and came thither at the beginning of Dem ber, full of Hopes that he should find the People mo calm and submissive. The Multitude seem'd to fo by the Reception they gave him, which was the mi Pompous and Magnificent in Acclamations, and Expr fions of Joy, that ever any King had met with; the Presbyterian Cabal that prevail'd in the Parliame was quite of another Mind. The Compliance of & land made them apprehensive that the same might so happen in England, and that a general Peace being tled in both Nations, their Sect would by Degrees all the Advantages it had gain'd by the Confusions; the the Defign they had laid of making it the govern Religion in England, as it was in Scotland, and while by their Industry was so far advanc'd, would stop the midst of the Carreer; and the Church of Engla which funk with the Royal Authority, would ag recover its Vigour. This Apprehension prevails and being fully refolv'd to use all their Arts, and monstran- ploy their utmost Interest to obstruct that Per which they thought threaten'd them, they had in House of Commons, without acquainting the Lor drawn up a Libel in the Nature of a Remonstran wherein pathetically exposing the Miscarriages in Government, which they ascrib'd to his Minister

Scandalous Reces.

more than ever. Irish Re-An Accident altogether unforeseen, great in it is bellion. and of extraordinary Consequence, was one main Pol of this Libel, and added much to its bitterness. Irish Catholicks oppress d by the English Protestants,

without taking any Notice of the Remedies apply'd many of them, they indirectly made fuch a Satyrup his Person, as was fit to expose him to publick Hatt nd,

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d hold of the Opportunity of their Confusions, to ke off the Yoke; and having conspir'd against them h wonderful Secrecy, after slaughtering a great mber of them, had almost made themselves Matters he Island. God, who gives no Blessing to Designs pposite to the Spirit of the Church, order'd that Capital City, Londonderry, and some other Places, ld not fall into the Hands of the Conspirators. y were in Danger, and it was propos'd to relieve a; but it was not yet done, tho' the King had been m'd of that Accident, before he lest Scotland. The spiracy, and the slowness in sending Relief, were main Articles of the Male Administration set forth he seditious Remonstrance.

he King was at Hampton Court, treating the Magi-Parliaes of London, who had express'd so much Affection ment De
im at his Return, when the Deputies of the House mands,
ommons brought him that Libel, with a Petition,
sining the Heads of it, wherein they apply'd to him
rb the Papists; to exclude the Bishops from Sitting
e House of Lords; to limit the Power of the Clerto abolish the Ceremonies in the Liturgy; to ree such of his Ministers as were suspected by the Parent; to put no others into their Places without their
robation; and lastly, that he should relieve Irewith all the speed that pressing Necessity re-

he King had now alter'd his Method, and was re-The King's d, by his Refusal, to put a stop to the indiscreet De-Answer, ds the Parliament continually made. However, he w'd them with his usual Goodness, and after prong he would examine their Petition, in order to coms far as was confistent with the Good of the Nation, teously desir'd them, not to cause the Remonce to be printed; alledging, it was not convenient t up the People to judge of the Prince, by such rs; that it could only serve to increase the Trouwhich he was willing to appease; that it was rete to put an End to the Divisions that had so long acted them, and suppress all fruitless Complaints, der to find effectual Means to redress the publick vances.

he Fear of heightning the Troubles, was an ill we to incline those to Moderation, who found their

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their Advantage in Diffention. Very few Days palit 1641. before the audacious Remonstrance of the House Commons was publish'd. The King, provok'd at the Proceeding of theirs, fet out a sharp Answer to wherein, after recounting what he had done toward redressing the Grievances complain'd of, with a fe cere Intention to fatisfy the People and the Parliamer he evidently demonstrated, that no Man was so defire of Peace as himself; that to purchase it, he had ftripp himself of the greatest and antientest Prerogatives of Crown, and therefore the People were to look no when for the Caufes of those civil Broils, but into the wick Defigns of those, who were for shaking off the Yoke the Sovereign Authority; in order to Subvert the Re gion, and the Government.

The five rebellious

This unusal Steadiness of the King, was so far fro daunting the Cabal, that they rather made fresh Esfo to bring their Project to bear. The King's late Rece demanded tion in London, had made the factious Party appreha five of lofing the Multitude. A Report was also spre abroad, that the City Officers, following the good ample fet them by the Lord Mayor, were become Ro alists. These Reports and Fears made the Rebels app themselves afresh to gain the meaner Sort of Citiza the Rabble, and fuch of the Magistrates as they been most apprehensive of losing. There were new trigues, new Complaints, and new Jealoufies, in eve Corner of the City, and within a few Days Mens He were more bufy than ever. The King being inform of it, and told the Names of some of those who we most Notorious for sowing the Seeds of Rebellion, folv'd to exert himself in an Action of Vigour, fend to the Parliament, whereof they were Members, to mand they should be secur'd, and put upon their Tri as feditious Persons, who disturb'd the Government, occasion'd the Rebellion of Scotland, and still made their Bufiness to set him at variance with his Subjet Viscount Mandeville, Son to the Earl of Manche otherwise call'd, Lord Kimbolton, a Member of House of Lords; Hollis, Hasterig, Pym, Strond, 1 Hambden, of the House of Commons, were the Perla against whom the King demanded Justice; but in va Those Firebrands were too dear to the Puritan Faction be for faken at a Time of Need. The King being howe

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folv'd to push that Point home, concluded to go himf and demand the Five last of their House, and comthem to Prison. He went thither, attended by his The King phew, the young Elector Palatine, and many Per-goes to deof Quality, whom he left at the Door, left there mandthens ht be an Occasion to say, he had offer'd Violence to Parliament. He went in with only the Elector, rook the Place of Lenthal the Speaker, who being by the King, Whether he did not see the Five bers he was come to impeach, had the Impudence fwer, That he faw nothing there but what the fe would have him fee. The King look'd about them himself, but to no purpose; for they had told of his Defign, and kept away. Several Perwere accus'd of betraying his Majesty's Secret. It most generally believ'd that the Countess of Carlifle the guilty Person, she being an intriguing Woman, having been much addicted to it in her Youth, count of her Beauty, could not forbear in old Age e help of her Wit.

here is no expressing what Clatnours the Cabal rais'd Tumulti It the King on account of this Attempt, and what and Falfi lous Commotions were the Consequences of it. The hoods, t was in a Consternation, and the King oblig'd to some sort of Satisfaction : Yet nevertheless the ults daily increas'd. The King could not appear in City of London, but the People cry'd about him, rivileges of the Parliament, The Privileges of the Parlia-The Meaning of it was, as the Puritans spoke more in all Companies, that he had invaded their Privi-This infolence went fo far, that one Walker, a ster, threw a Libel against him, into his Coach. Rabble came down in a tumultuous Manner, and numerous, to his Palace, to affront him to his whilst the Parliament, pretending they were not t Westminster, withdrew into the City, to increase umult, demanded a Guard, and refusing that the offer'd them, took another that was devoted to action. In the mean while a thousand false Rewere spread abroad, concerning the King's Defigns the City, most of them extravagant and increand yet believ'd; having the same Effect to flic e Multitude, as if they had been never so likely. faid, the King was preparing to come with the

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Papists to murder all the Protestants. Forces were pretended to be seen already, Digby and Langford were at Kingston with a Body of Horse, and only waited to Orders.

The City

These false Reports given out daily in the House and proclaim'd at Night in the Streets, put the City London into such Dread and Confusion, that nothing was to be seen every where but arm'd Men, Corps Guard, Intrenchments, Barricades, Chains a cross the Streets, and fuch like Preparations to repulse King's Forces. That Monarch's faithful Servants ing fearful for his Satety, came to offer him their & vice. The Students in the Inns of Court, where young Gentry study the Law, fignaliz'd their Z towards their Prince, offering to be his Guard. The the King, who had also a confiderable Number Friends among the prime Men, and even in the Ho of Lords, was enabled, without Danger of Surpri to make Head in his Capital City against the opposit Faction, whose Insolence daily debauch'd some thinking Persons from his Party. Many were the and still are of Opinion, it was his best Course to will stand them there.

The King for withdrawing.

The King himself was not of that Mind. Gro weary of so much Contradiction from those who out to have obey'd him, he concluded, that removing hi felf at some Distance they would fear him, and ind they should at last oblige him to have Recourse Arms to subdue them, he should find more Friend the Country than in London. On the other Hand, ing always extreamly averfe to a Civil War, and will to avoid giving any Occasion of being made the Aut of it, he fancy'd, that if he withdrew flowly, and degrees, he should give the Mutiniers Time to fider better than they had done, and those who the publick Good, to find out some Expedients, wh he would always be ready to confent to, provided Parliament would contribute any Thing towards Pea and that what soever happen'd, all England would by last decisive Proceedings be made sensible to wh they ought to attribute all the Mischiefs of the that threaten'd them.

Upon these Considerations, about the middle of 1642. muary, 1641, King Charles departing London,

Under the Family of the Stuarts, &c.

w to Hampton Court, with the Queen, the Prince of 1642. des, and fuch of his Houshold as were not Members Parliament. Wise and honest Men durst not blame Goes to for having fecur'd Majesty from the Insults of a Hampton ble that was govern'd by his Enemies; but they Court. not, without lamenting the Misfortunes of their atry, behold that Separation which foreboded them. Presbyterian Cabal, and their Party, were not cond at it, being resolv'd to reduce the King to that cable Condition they had projected, and to leave the Shadow of a King, after stripping him of all I Power; which if they could not compais by e, they were not displeas'd at a War; and therethey immediately began to take such Measures as it render it successful. Thus, instead of seeking as to appeale their provok'd Monarch, as loon as he had left London, the five Members of the. e of Commons he had accus'd, were brought back jumph, with inexpressible Acclamations and Ap-

the Effect of new Turns in Affairs, both Parties solv'd. fell to Business; neither being willing that the ck should charge them with the obstructing of it. began to manage according to their Genius, and ns; the King like a Prince drove to Extremity, esolv'd upon War, yet still as one, on whom an s of Goodness prevail'd to sacrifice much for the se Parliament, like a tyrannical Power, min'd to extort from the King's too great Contion, and Inclination to Peace, all that could be as'd by a successful War; yet so as rather to try than to yield the least for Peace.

fuant to this Scheme, it was resolv'd in the King's The Queen et Council, that the Queen should go over into to go to d, upon pretence of conducting the Princess Holland, to the Prince of Orange her Husband, and at the sime to negotiate the Supplies of Men and Money might be Occasion for; that the King should re-York, there to make his first Levies, and seize the sine at Hull; but that he should proceed slowly, w Time for Negotiation, and, if possible, bring the Parliamentarians to their Duty, by gentlers than Force of Arms. They easily div'd into

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the Defigns of the Court, and were not surpriz'd at them. 'The Queen's Voyage, which might have given them some Jealousy, and which it was thought they should have obstructed, rather put them in Hopes of compassing their Designs with more Ease; being fully perswaded, that the Opposition they had of late found in the King, contrary to his natural Disposition, was the Effect of that Princes's Council, and once she was gone they would compel the King to purchase Peace at their own Rate. Upon these Consideration they refolv'd to proceed to the utmost in their De mands.

More infomands.

The King was still at Hampton Court, when, on a lent De- count of the Troubles in Ireland, the two Houses press him to give them the Power of the Militia; and the Disposal of Governments; in Testimony, said they, his Sincerity, that he intended to punish the Irish Re bels, and that some Reports spread abroad, of his having rais'd that Rebellion, to fet Ireland against England, wer falle and groundless. It was no hard Matter to see in the Scope of that Proposal, and what the Consequent would be, had the King consented to it. That being nice Point, and the Reports spread abroad of his Man fly's holding Correspondence with the Irife Catholical having some Appearance of Truth, tho' they were add ally falle, he granted all he could in favour of the B pedition then in Hand against the revolted Irish Cath licks; but as for the Power of the Militia, and the D poling of Governments, he rejected that Part, as an l croachment on his Authority, which could never he been thought of, but by fuch Persons as defign'd ton the Crown of its most effential Prerogatives.

French rejected.

Upon this new Contest the King went away to Win Mediation for, where the Differences increasing, the Marquis la Ferte Imboult, afterward Mareschal D' Estampes, the French Ambaffador in England, thought it was Time give a Check to those Disorders which were like to come fatal to a King France was defirous to support notwithstanding it was willing that some Disturban should obstruct his joyning with Spain, as he was nat rally inclin'd, and the whole Faction advis'd him. proper Opportunity had been long expected, to pe swade him to accept of the King his Brother-in-last Mediation; to the end, that looking upon that as

bligation, he might not favour the Enemies of France, en reconcil'd to his own. The Marquis concluded t was the proper Moment, and the King feem'd well as'd with his Care when he went to offer his Service. o Things obstructed the Success; the one, That the byterian Cabal allowing of no Abatement in the posals made to the King, fignify'd to the Ambastathat a Mediation which tended to any fuch Overture ld be disagreeable to that Party, and that the bare ofing an Accommodation which they were not ind to, would render France suspected. The other, t the faid Minister was inform'd, the Court took ate Measures so to order Affairs, that the King ht not be oblig'd to France for the Peace. fome Advances, and Journies between London and dfor, the Mediator defifted, and the Contests grew er than ever. Soon after, the King made one far-Step, which feem'd to promife the putting an End hem, and was his condescending in a Point he ght would fully convince the Parliament of his deto content them.

he Puritans had two Things chiefly in View, the The Bishops ishing of Episcopacy, and the circumscribing of the attack'd. al Authority. About the same Time that they e incroaching upon the Prerogative of the Crown, as been faid, they gave an Attack upon Episcopacy, ch I must now take Notice of. I have already mend, how the Rabble us'd to infult fuch Members of liament as were suspected of being in the Interest of Court. The Bishops were known Favourers of the g, and his Prerogative, and accordingly the Multi-, upon all Occasions, reproach'd and affronted m. After frequent Threats, they had been several nes very near putting them in Execution. Some of m had been roughly handled, and others had their vn Sleeves torn. Grown weary of this Ulage, the hbishop of York, and eleven of his Brethren, resolv'd orbear going to the House, entering their Protesta-, that whatsoever was transacted should be void, e they were compell'd by open Violence to keep y. This Protest seem'd to provoke the Party; but, the other hand, it is likely many were pleas'd h it, who thence took Occasion to asperse the Prees, and to contrive, till they could proceed farther, to

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exclude all the Bishops from Sitting in Parliament. Some Contest there was about it; but at length it pass'd; the Bishops who had protested were secured, and all excluded the House of Lords. It had been often propos'd to the King, to pass that Bill, which he had till then refus'd, but at last consented. The Court being on the Way to Dover, where the Queen was to imbark, lay then at Canterbury; as if God had design'd to humble the English Bishops in the original Seat of their Episcopacy, which they had corrupted by their Schism, and so many several Errors.

The King goes to York.

This Action of the King's, in Compliance with the Parliament, gave Cause to believe, either that he was refolv'd to refuse them nothing, or that they had agreed to ask no more; and consequently Peace was expected but in vain. The Matter of the Militia, and Govern ments, could not be adjusted. The Queen imbark'd, and fail'd over into Holland. The King fet out for the North with the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, his Som He frent much Time in his Progress, making some the at the Houses of Theobalds and New-Market, and came not to York till the latter end of March. During the King's Journey, and for three Months after his Arriva at York, the Negotiations were continu'd, and always no effect, through the Oblinacy of the Parliament; rather the Policy of the Cabal, which was resolv'd ingross the Sovereignty. The more the King granted the more obstinate were his Enemies; and the farthe they went, the higher they carry'd their Pretenfions They drew up nineteen Articles, which they presented every Time there was any talk of an Accommodation and whatfoever could be done, there was no perfwading them to recede from thence.

Infolent Proposals to him. The chiefest of these Articles were, That all such a were of the Council, the Secretaries of State, and Ministers, should surrender their Posts to others the Parliament should approve of. That these should take such an Oath as the Parliament should administer, and who any of them happen'd to die, if the Parliament were the Sitting, their Consent should be ask'd for supplying the Place; but if it happen'd during a Recess, the rest of the Council should by plurality of Votes elect a proper Person to succeed him. That no Order of Council should be of Force, unless sign'd by the major Part of

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That the Chancellor, or Keeper of the Great l, the Master of the Horse; in a Word, all the Great cers, all the Judges, all Governors, should be chowith the Approbation of the Parliament, who was to have the Disposal of the Militia, Garrisons, Sea-, and Magazines. That no Person the King should he future raise to the Degree of a Peer should have te in the House of Lords, without the Consent of That the Catholick Peers should be ex-Houses. d, and their Children taken from them to be eduin the Religion of the Country. That the King's dren should not be marry'd without the Parliament's That the Laws in Force against Cathorobation. should be put in Execution. That the King should ent to such a Reformation of the Liturgy and Church ernment as the Parliament should order, by the ice of able Divines. That the King should dismiss Guards he had newly rais'd. That he should by ick Act clear the five Members of the Lower fe he had accus'd. And, That he would please to er up to the Justice of the Parliament all those should think guilty of having disturb'd the pub-Peace.

is easy to guess by the Nature and Consequences Lords and hele Propolals, with what Indignation they were Commons iv'd by the King, and how much his just Anger was repair to ok'd against the Cabal, every Time they presented the King. n. It was not he alone that took Offence. he Parliament it felf, being asham'd to be Members Affembly, where such Insolence against the law-Sovereign was promoted, for look them, and went y to him. Then was the King's Court augmented he Accession of the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis lertford, the Earls of Lindsey, Cumberland, Hunting-Dorfet, Bath, Southampton, Devonsbire, Northampton, Shire, Bristol, Newcastle, Westmorland, Monmouth, Ri-Carnarvon, Newport and Dover; the Barons Maltra-Willoughby, Rich, Howard of Carleton, Newark, Paget, don, Faulconbridge, Pawlet, Lovelace, Savil, Coventry, more, Mohun, Grey, Seymour and Capel. Several mbers of the House of Commons follow'd the Exple of those Lords, and repair'd to the King. Littlethe Keeper, sent him the Great Seal his Majesty entrusted him with, and came himself.

Now

1642. Rebels and the Navy.

Now it plainly appear'd that Provision must be made for War, the Defertion of those above-mention'd having no way abated the Audaciousness of the prevailing Par feize Hull, of the Parliament. Some Time was still spent in Pro seedings, Declarations, and Overtures for Peace, de ring the which the Parliamentarians showing less Defe rence to their Prince than he had for them, took for Advantages that prov'd very prejudicial to his Affain and to his Party. For whilft he was treating with them about the disposal of the Garrisons, Forces and Revenues, they entering upon Action, feiz'd Hull, Fortress of much Moment both for its Situation and in Arfenal; made themselves Masters of the Navy, and cur'd the Money defign'd for Ireland; fo that when the King came in Person to Hull, Hotham, sent thither pr vately by the Parliament, refus'd to admit him, unle he would go in alone. In the fame Manner, when he Majesty sent Pennington to command the Fleet, the Commander found the Earl of Warwick in Possession that Post, by Order of the Parliament. This was Lesson that Prince had much difficulty to improve up on, and taught him, That there is a Mean even in Vertue and that it is dangerous for a King to be too Good. H was now sensible of this Truth, and being resolv'de subdue the Rebels whom he had till then too long for bore, gave Orders for raising of Forces, towards the furnishing whereof, the Queen had opportunely fer Arms and Money out of Holland. He made an unfut cessful Attempt upon Hull; Hotham and Meldrum de fended it, and being reliev'd by Sea, where the Ear of Warwick was Mafter, his Majesty was oblig'd to pu off that Enterprize to another Time.

Earl of thex.

In the mean while the Parliamentarians on the fide rais'd Men, and appointed Officers. Robert, Est of Effex was declar'd General. He was a Man of great Quality, brave, and had gain'd some Experience, set ving in the Low-Countries. In other respects he had but an indifferent Capacity, and but few Qualification that could entitle him to command those that were his own Rank, befides his Age, Gravity of Behavious and being wholly devoted to the Faction. He had a Adventure under King James the First, whereinhe made show of some good Sense, or very much Weakness for the Case is disputable. His Wife, the Daughter

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1642.

Earl of Suffolk, had attempted to poison him twice, reder to marry her Gallant, Robert Car, the King's ourite. Either Strength of Nature, or some Antitaken in Time, sav'd the Earl's Life. The passitive Countess su'd for a Divorce in Court, alledging that strictency in her Husband which authorizes such Session. The Earl thought any Method good to get rid at Fury; he own'd the pretended Impotency, and ght there was no better Way of being reveng'd on a that dishonour'd him, than yielding him up a ted Woman, who in the end ruin'd his Fortune. In was the Parliament General against the King. er Officers were nominated, as well to serve under Earl, as to command separate Bodies in other Plates.

The King having done the like, the Negotiations to re-assum'd. Both Sides declar'd their Adversaries try of High Treason, as Disturbers of the publick ce. New Declarations were printed, wherein both ies protested they took up Arms to maintain the restant Religion, in Defence of the King's Person, the Laws, the Liberty of the People, the Tranquios the Nation, and the Privileges of the Parliament; to carry on that comical Prelude to so many Tragitorary on that comical Prelude to so many Tragiteents, whilst both Sides under hand labour'd to we the Catholicks to their Party, each of them in blick charg'd the receiving of them as a Crime on the er; and the King himself forbid them taking up ms for him. When these Grimaces were over, they keep the teld, and came to Action.

The War was briskly carry'd on, according to the English nius of the Nation, which is hot, eager, using little Temper, t, deciding every Thing by Battle, where they put ore Considence in Numbers, and the Courage of the ldiers, than the Skill of the Commanders.

About the beginning of September, the King, grown Both Arany of listening to the Parliament's Proposals, and mies. Sing his own rejected, tho' they were more moderate in became the Honour of a crown'd Head, mov'd to ther his Army at Shrewsbury, near the Borders of Wales, wilst the Earl of Essex joyn'd his at Northampton, where e Rendevouz was. The King had little above eleven housand Men, and the Earl fourteen Thousand; but e Presence of their Sovereign inspir'd such Valour into is Troops, as made them despise the greater Number,

and

1642. and gave them fuch Affurance as usually presages good Succeis.

First Adi- In the King's Army were the Princes Rupert and Ma on, the Re-rice, Brothers to the Elector Palatine, who was gon bels routed back beyond the Sea. Prince Rupert, call'd Prince Ri bert by the vulgar, who have us'd all Mankind to nam him fo, being fent by the King his Uncle to fecure We cefter, was unexpectedly met by Sands, whom the Ear of Effex had detach'd upon the same Design, and comin to an Engagement, Sands was kill'd, and his Party ro The Earl of Effex, who follow'd Sands, oblig the Prince, who was not supported by the King, to tell tire, and joyn the main Army, then marching toward London, the King being refolv'd to take the Advantage of the Earl's Remoteness, to draw near to his Capital

Effex perceiv'd the King's Defign, and turn'd fhort follow him. The King having notice of it, confider'd That having gain'd so little Ground upon the Rebels, would be dangerous for him to come too near London which might fend out other Forces, and thut him up be tween two Armies. Hereupon he refolv'd to face the Army that pursu'd him, and offer it Battle. fay he had been inform'd, That the Earl of Effex had

fuit, had left his Artillery behind him, with a Guard However it was, the King advanc'd towards him with a Refolution to fight.

not his full Complement, but being hafty in the Pur

The Parliament General marching on, without being daunted, the two Armies met on a Plain, in the Counmies meet. ty of Warwick, call'd the Vale of Red Horfe, lying be tween the Town of Keynton and Edgbill, whence Histo rians have given it both the Names of the Battle of Edg. bill and of Keynton, but most generally of Edghill.

Edghill Fight.

The Ar-

The King came over the Hills, whence he discover'd the Enemy marching out of the Town, and entering the Plain, in order of Battle. Then those who were nearest the King ask'd him, what he meant to do. To fight, faid he, by the Help of God, and of my good Subjects. Having spoke these Words, he drew up his Army, posting the Earl of Lindsey, whom he had appointed General under him, in the Center, Prince Rupert on the Right, and Wilmot on the Left, sustain'd by several other Commanders of Note, and known Bravery. In this Order he came down the Hill, and having taken his Ground in and,

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Plain, found the Enemies Army there, drawn up ch in the same manner as his own ; with the Genein the Center, Balfour and Stapleton on the Right, Colonel Ramsey on the Left. Both fides began by e Discharges of Cannon, which did little Execution; which Prince Rupert, who commanded the Horse, g'd Ramfey with fuch Fury, that he not only press'd, e and routed him, but purfued to the Enemies gage, left at Keynton, and gave the Plunder of it to Men. Had not the Palatine been so hot, and suffer'd felf to be fo far transported, but instead of pursuing e that fled, and could do no more Hurt, fo far, e back again, there had been an end of that Action, of the War, and the King had been absolute Ma-But it was Prince Rupert's Fault to lose the Adtage gain'd by his Valour, through an Excess of Va-Yet was not his Fault irretrievable, had not his mple drawn the Earl of Carnarvan after him. liament Infantry, which flood next the Wing that been thus broke, was so frighted at that sudden it, that a Regiment of theirs, commanded by Sir Forth, going over to the King in that Confusion, Earl of Essex could not avoid being cut in Pieces, the Earl of Carnarvan, who commanded the lecond e of the Prince's Wing, instead of pursuing Ramsey h him, flank'd the Enemies Army on that fide where as broken. The Rebel General perceiv'd that Fault, made use of it to bring up a Body of Reserve, which cuted the same upon the Royalists that Carnarvan neglected to do on the Parliamentarians. e Time the Enemies Right Wing puth'd the King's t, and making better use of their Advantage than ice Rupert had done of his, suffer'd the Horse to fly r being broke, and turn'd upon the Earl of Lindsey. ere the Fight grew hot, and was obstinately main-Lindsey fought in Person, at the Head of two allions, where he was shot through and kill'd. His est Son was taken, advancing to relieve him. - Varney was kill'd carrying the Royal Standard, ch was lost. The King had put himself at the Head a good Corps de Reserve, which had not yet Aruck oke; the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, the scarce Twelve Years of Age, the other under Ten, re a Horseback on each fide of him. His Majesty see-

ing his Troops give way, mov'd to fustain them, and the two Princes with him; when somebody told him the must needs be tir'd, having been long a Horseback; fides that there was no Safety for them, where the Kin himself had better not expose his Person. He though the Advice good, as far as it respected his Children but would not follow it himself. He propos'd it to the Duke of Richmond to conduct them up the Hill, by that Noble Peer excus'd himself, begging leave to fall by his Majesty; who next apply'd himself to the Ea of Dorfet, for the same Purpose, and was answer'd in Jocofe manner by him, according to his Cuftom, the all the Kings in the World should not make his retire, when he was to fight. One of the Gentlems Pensioners had at last that Trust committed to his The two Princes retir'd, not without imminent Dang of being taken in an Ambush they fell into by the Wa In the mean while the King led on his Party, will Sword in Hand, and his Presence giving the Troo fresh Vigour, the Royal Standard was re-taken by Smith who was Knighted in the Field for that Action. Fight was renew'd with all the Vigour that Wearing would allow, when Night put an End to it, advantage oufly to the Monarch, tho' the Parliament Account makes it a Drawn-Battle, and places it among the Nur ber of those, which both fides claim the Honourd The Number of the Slain was indeed almost equal Some Persons of Note fell on both fides. The Lot Aubigny, of the Family of the Stuarts, and Brothers the Duke of Richmond, had the same Fate with the Ea of Lindsey. Neither fide lay on the Field of Battle, the King went up the Hill again, and the Earl retir'd Keynton; but bating this only, all other Tokens of W Story appear'd on his Majesty's side. His Army was Battle from break of Day, facing the Earl of Effex, wh offer'd not to advance. He sent to fetch off his Cannot which had been left in the Plain, together with the Em mies, and both were brought him, without any Opp fition. Above 60 Colours were taken from the Parla mentarians. But that which made it plainest, w that the Earl of Effex alter'd his March, drawing of towards Coventry, whereas the King held on his; and took Bambury.

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Ve must not here omit to mention the Treachery of Blake, before the Battle, whose Letters were found ng the Baggage plunder'd by Prince Rupert's Blake a pps, wherein he acquainted the Parliament General Traytor. all the King's Defigns, and particularly of the where he intended to fight. That Traytor rethe Reward due to his Villany, whilst the King, g escap'd that Danger, march'd briskly towards apital, where he caus'd a fresh Consternation. d he gone thither as he intended, the War would been at an End. Prince Rupert would needs go er alone, and undertook to drive the Parliament Westminster. The Spirit of the English Nation, h always predominates even in those who are best ted to Kingly Government, that English Spirit, I say, vs full of the Conceit of those Liberties, that have To fatal to the Kingdom's Peace, prevail'd with most e Council to oppose that Defign. They pretended s dangerous for the King to put it in Execution If, and for the City to have it done by the Prince, was Young, and Hot, and might fet Fire to it. true Reason was, they fear'd, that if the King en-London with Sword in Hand, he might pretend to Right of Conquest over the Nation, which would him too Absolute. For this Reason they rather to hearken to the Proposals the Parliament made pease the People. Tho' those were still the same, Brentford ing, who omitted nothing that might produce a Fight. , and flatter'd himself that such a fortunate Beginof the War might make his Enemies more tractaconsented to a Conference. They were about agreen the Place, when a confiderable Action hap'ned een the Royalists and the Parliamentarians at Brentwhere the former had all the Advantage, taking olours, and 13 Pieces of Cannon from the Rebels. fide charg'd the other with Breach of Faith, and nitting Hostilities during a Treaty. Historians are tial in their Accounts, that all they fay is to be eted. A Foreign Writer fays it was Prince Rupert, through his usual Heat occasion'd that Ingagement, ing he no way transgress'd, the Treaty being commenc'd, and no mention made of a Ceffation ms. Some say the King was inform'd, that whilst Parliamentarians amus'd him with Proposals, they were

The History of the Revolutions in England 64

were concerting to hem him in. However it was, the Accident broke off the Treaty, and the Earl of En having march'd the Remainder of his Army on the other fide of the River to London, to encourage the Citizen the King retir'd to Oxford, and both Parties went in Winter Quarters.

1643. veral Parts.

Fair Weather coming on with the Spring of the Ne Comman- Year, 1643, England, tho' fo much us'd to fee the Blo ders in se- of its Natives spilt, beheld the most hideous Spectal that had ever been acted on its Stage. Scarce a County was free from War, all Men being ingag'd, a every one following his own Inclination, one Broth was often against the other, and the Son against the ther. The Main Armies posses'd the Center and bo The Earl of Newcastle having Ends of the Kingdom. rais'd Nine Thousand Men, almost at his own Expen flood up in the North for the King, and for his Du The two Fairfaxes, Father and Son, commanded Rebel Forces in those Parts. The Marquis of Herry kept the Southern and Western Counties for the juit Side; and Waller, a famous Commander, was there the Parliament. The King himself acted about 04 against the Earl of Essex. That Prince had such Adva tages on all fides, as must have put an End to the W with the Destruction of the Rebels, had not Heaven, Reasons we must rather adore than pry into, decit otherwise. Several Miscarriages are imputed to Loyal Party; but I have always thought it unjust accuse able Men of Faults whensoever there is w of Success.

Actions in

In the North, the Earl of Newcastle, being join'd the North. the Earl of Cumberland, took Caln, and routed the Par amentarians. Next he took Bradford, and had bely feiz'd Leeds; but the Fairfaxes being reinforc'd w fresh Troops, regain'd it, at the first Asfault. You Fairfax took Wakefield and Cholmly, and foon after feated Six Hundred Royalists near Gainsborough. The were small Advantages to the Parliament Party, while the Earl of Newcastle, to whom Goring and King b brought Men, Arms, Cannon and Working Tools, to all the Towns he befieg'd, drove the Enemy before in all Places, and after reducing all the Northern Part from York to the Borders of Scotland, oblig'd the Fa faxes to shut themselves up in Hull, which Place hell fieg'd.

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Whilst the King's Affairs thus prosper'd in the North, y advanc'd no less in the South. The Marquis of ford, sustain'd by Hopton, Prince Maurice, and seve-In the others, obrain'd confiderable Advantages over Wal-West. the Earl of Stamford, and Sir -- Chydley. Hopton beat the two last in several distinct Actions, both together at Siratton. Many of their Men were kill'd, and seventeen Hundred taken, with thir-Pieces of Cannon, Seventy Barrels of Powder, and Booty, which demonstrated a compleat Victory. two Commanders of the routed Army flying to r, were besieg'd there by Prince Maurice, and surer'd upon Articles; whilft Hopton, marching into setsbire, went to ingage Waller, near Bath. This Lanfon happen'd about the beginning of July in Lansdown down The Fight ended not with the Day, but was Fight. inu'd far into the Night, without any plain Decision hich fide the Victory might be affign'd. If we may e by the Field of Battle, the Royalists kept it, Waltiring to Bath, foon after the Darkness parted them. was much concern'd for the Loss of Sir Bevil vil, a Gentleman, who had that Day fignaliz'd elf, at the Head of a Stand of Pikes, which he e good against all the Efforts of the Enemy. Anomore unfortunate Accident cross'd that Commangood Fortune. Whether by Chance, or the Maof the Prisoners he had taken, his Powder took and he narrowly escap'd being kill'd by it him-This Misfortune gave Waller a great Advantage him, and he neglected it not, but forc'd him to himself up in the Devises. Waller pursu'd so close, he overtook his Infantry, whom he attack'd, and ght he had fure, when the King, who had receiv'd ligence of the Danger his Men were in, happily them Relief. Prince Maurice, the Marquis of Hert-Baron Wilmot, and other great Men, led thither dy of Horse, which joyning Hopton's Forces, tought r, and routed him, Almost all his Army was cut eces, his Cannon taken, with abundance of Proviand Ammunition, which the Royalists then stood reat need of. Waller lost Thirty leven Colours, retir'd to Briftol, whither the victorious Army purhim, he was oblig'd to fly to London, and leave

Whilf

City to the Royalists.

Whilst the King's Party made such Progress at both Ends of the Kingdom, the King himself, and the Con The King's manders under him, in the Midland Counties, weren Success in less successful. The Earl of Northumberland route the Inland. Brereton. The Earl was kill'd in that Action, but Print

Rupert having join'd his Forces, befieg'd Lichfield, a took it. The taking of Reading by the Earl of En had struck a Terror into the Inhabitants of Oxford, a the King, who was then there, very remote from Forces, which were dispers'd in several Places, s thought to be in danger, had the Earl known how R improve his Success; or had he not, as was suspected rather chose to put an End to the War by a Peace, the must be advantageous to the Party that stood up for berty, which he would fecure to the People, thank Victory that must be fatal to Monarthy, which her not willing to subvert. That Fault, or Discretion, g Prince Rupert leisure to draw near to the Court. the way he met a Body of the Enemies Horse in a grave Field, whom he defeated, kill'd many, tool great Number of Prisoners, and by the Death of Ha den, one of the five Members so famous for their h tices in the House of Commons, reveng'd the Wro done to the loyal Caufe by those seditious Spirits. The Loss so much weaken'd Essex's Army, that he durst keep the Field any longer; befides, Difeafes daily can ing off a confiderable Number, that General was obline to retire under the Lines of London, to give his Tro Time to breathe, and recover.

Infolency Had the King rely'd upon himself, that Army wor of, a Rebel. not have got off. The Queen had brought him of Officers and Arms out of Holland, where she pawn'd Jewels to procure him that Supply. She had repair

the Sea to bring it her self, and met with several Dang by the way. An English Vessel, that happen'd to be the same Port hers put into, had the Insolence to C nonade the House she lay in, and forc'd her to remot All the Nation was asham'd of that unparallell'd Bru

The Queen lity, and all Europe look'd upon it with Horror. The brings Re-Queen receiv'd no Hurt, but was encourag'd by the lief. way as she went to add all the Troops she could to the Relief she was carrying to the King, which consisted four Thousand Men, with six Pieces of Cannon, at two Mortars. The Earl of Newcastle, who had be

where Victorious, was able to joyn a confiderarmy to that his Majesty could form of many small es he had all about Oxford. That Monarch was Treachery yning the main Strength of his Forces, in order to in the with two Armies, to firike a Terror into his King's I City, and oblige the Parliament to grant Peace Council. Nation; but his Council was of another Mind, de him commit the same Fault the Earl of Essex enaccus'd of, and he himself been guilty of before. lay, that many of those who were nearest about the were not averse to the Parliament. That manner eeding is very agreeable to the Genius of the Enation; which, as I have faid before, looks upon flembly as the Preserver of a Liberty those People Idolatrous Worship to. For the same Reason, rliament never was without a like Number of Perless inclin'd to the King and Monarchy, which ok'd upon as the Foundation of the Government, re defirous to preferve, notwithstanding all their for the advancing of Liberty. This Medley ferv'd hile to keep both fides from running upon Exbut was at last fatal to the King, and particut this Conjuncture I now speak of, when instead ching to crush the Rebellion in its Head, as he have done, he employ'd his Troops about a Siege, gave his Enemies time to recruit their almost

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Troops, and expedite a powerful Succour that eparing for them, ofter, the fatal Place, so unseasonably besieg'd, was Glocester confiderable Strength; but Massey, who defend-Siegerais'd had so much Conduct, as to stop the Royal Arlong as was necessary to recruit the Earl of Effex's a great City as London. As soon as it was in a tion, that General led it to Glocester, and oblig'd ng to raise the Siege. This gave Occasion to the Newburg of Newbury, fought in September, 1643. and fa- Fight. for having lasted three Days without any full ation of Victory on either fide, for which both ted Thanksgivings, without having reap'd the tage. The King had most to show for it, but at xpence of very many Persons of Quality. of Carnarvon and Sunderland, the Lord Viscount ed, and Collonel Morgan, were kill'd in the Fight. to the Marquis de Vieuville, much commended

by the Historians on both fides, was taken Prisone and barbaroufly kill'd in cold Blood by those that to him.

France mediates

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So much Blood shed to no purpose towards brink ing Affairs to a Decision, seem'd to offer France a for Peace. vourable Opportunity to interpole its Mediation on to again, as it did, for restoring a good Understanding and Peace between them. The Face of Affairs chang'd. Cardinal Richelieu was dead; King Lewis 12th had follow'd him; Queen Anne of Auftria ! clar'd Regent during the Minority of her Son, was a on cern'd to fee the dangerous Condition, not only King, but all the Royal Family of England was redu On the other Hand, the Difficulties that Mona labour'd under, and the Vanity of the Promises, the who inclin'd him to the House of Austria had flatte him with, had made him fomething better diffe towards France. The Queen's Eyes were open, and faw no fafe Place of Retreat, but her own Country case of any Disaster. This was the Posture of Affi when the Count de Harcourt was appointed to go de the King his Master's Mediation to the King of Engla and his Parliament. An Ambaffador of fuch high Bi and fo great Reputation, it was thought must need heard; and that Justice must be done the King of land, as to declare, it was not his Fault that the Co did not reconcile the Differences between him and Subjects; but the Parliament was still obstinate not grant Peace, unless they might prescribe Laws. The therefore return'd the Mediator a respectful Answ but perfisted in such Haughtiness towards their So reign, that the Ambassador lost all Hopes of succeed and the Queen Regent, after he had fpent some Mon in useless Overtures, was oblig'd to recal him.

The Infolence of the Parliamentarians was very Rebels prizing, at a Time when the King's Arms had make a Great Seal vail'd in most Places; and it was fo much the mo that they had the Boldness to cause a new G Seal to be made, and to pretend that the Keep of it of Right belong'd to them; but it was long before the Reason of this their Audacious appear'd, by the Discovery of what was contrib

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he King judging of what that Nation would do, hat it ought to have done, as if Men always did as ought, was fully perfuaded, that after so many Ingratirs receiv'd from him, and the Promises made him, tude of the to bear Arms against his Service, he had nothing Scots. from that fide; and some time pass'd before the hew'd any Disposition to espouse either Party. reality there was always a great Correspondence n them, and the Parliament of England; there ersons imploy'd on both sides to keep up the Unit the Scots having obtain'd all they demanded, the eliev'd that their Loyalty and Gratitude being danger of Corruption from Interest, they would e against him any more. He did not consider, e fetting up of Puritanism in England for the pre-Religion, as it was in Scotland, was a main Into the Scots, who were all Puritans; and that by iles of Policy, it was no less their Interest, to iberties granted to the English, which they were he Affertors of, and which for that same Reason, ngs would in time to come be more cautious of

likely the English Parliament's Agents in Scotland The Brave eper into the Force of those two Motives than the Montrose

addone, and knew how to urge them to the Pur-These Affairs being at first privately manag'd, vere few that knew of them, and the King being ondition to do any Man Good, or Harm, there ew Scots so well affected to his Service, as to give telligence of what was transacting. It was upon ccasion that the Brave Marquis of Montrose befignalize himself, by that extraordinary Loyalty Hero he liv'd, and whose Martyr he dy'd. That ad at first been carry'd away by the Stream, and up Arms for the Cause of Liberty, without much ing whether it was the Cause of Justice. Time en'd his Eyes, he understood his Duty, and his ons being upright, made no Delay in following of his was such a support to the better Cause, that King in time made as much account of it as it d, and all the Use he might have done, it would ven fuch a Diversion, as had render'd all the Sucf the Scots useless to his Enemies. No sooner was se inform'd of what was contriving in his Coun-

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1643. try, than he resolv'd to give the King notice of it. To was at the Time when the Queen return'd out of land into England. He met, and told her, what held discover'd; adding, that it was requisite, to prevent Defigns of the King's Enemies, to form a Party for in Scotland, and find the Conspirators Imployment, obstruct their coming to disturb the King's Succession England. The Queen, whose Thoughts where who bent upon joining the King her Husband, as foon ast fible, with the Supplies she brought him, made the

obstructs. his good Designs.

Hamilton account of what Montrofe told her, in regard that D Hamilton, who was also come to compliment her, presented that Lord's Intelligence, as meer Fancie Youth; faying, he knew more than Montrofe, that was better acquainted with the Country, and the case there were any Disposition in Scotland to the Le he talk'd of, all fair Means must needs be first try'd fore the Incision Knife and Cauteries were us'd to a to which Oil had not been first apply'd; that he w undertake to observe the Motions of his Nation, give the Court timely notice of any Mischief hea not prevent.

Queen's Mistake.

When two Persons give Advice, if there be new little Reason to question which is best, that which fes most is always follow'd. By this Rule Hami was preferr'd before Montrose's. The Queen was nest to join the King; and the Delay of adjusting Measures, and consulting, was uneasy to her at time. It was more agreeable to the Conjuncture no way repugnant to Prudence, to leave the Care of Affair to a Man of Sense, Reputation and Author fuch as Hamilton was. This was the Courfe the follow'd, but the Event shew'd it had not been the

Montrole King,

No fooner was Duke Hamilton return'd into Scot firm to the than the Great Men of the Kingdom, being gain the Agents of the English Rebels, call'd a Conven This is the Name those People give to an Affent that ferves instead of a Parliament, which they had fir'd the King to call, and he had refus'd. The Cau convening that Affembly being kept fecret, Most whom the Rebel Cabal had refolv'd to gain, was of the first they acquainted with it. They sounded artfully, and he no less subtilly putting them who him in hopes that he would not be inflexible, the

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er'd to him their Defign of taking up Arms for the rliament of England against their Sovereign, desiring n to accept of the Post of Lieutenant General in the federate Forces. Montrose receiv'd their Secret and er with the same Dissimulation he had made use of raw it from them. He gave them Cause to hope, out ingaging himself in any Promise; but having ght himself off, on account that those he had to deal did not agree in Circumstances, he defir'd them to e among themselves, before he came to contract them, and leaving them, got away unperceiv'd, his Friend Ogilby, to give notice to the King. lis Majesty was then at the Siege of Glocester, which Not rend him much Imployment. Besides he repos'd so garded by th Confidence in what Hamilton had so positively bim. the Queen, that what soever Montrose could say, he ld scarce be heard. The King was gone back to

being oblig'd to give him an Account, and by a lick Declaration that Assembly set forth, to acquaint World with the Resolutions they were come to. it the King understood, that the English had receiv'd Scots Covenant, which they had enlarg'd, and made imon to both Nations, under the Name of the League, ing some Articles, the Substance whereof, together h the others, was,

rd, and his Troops in Winter Quarters, before he

d be convinc'd; which was not till he was told,

t had been done in the Convention, Hamilton him-

That they would all jointly, and every Man in The Subticular, endeavour to maintain the Religion both in stance of land and Scotland, as also in Ireland, according to the the Covee Word of God, and the Example of the best ren'd Churches; to the end that for the future there ght be a perfect Uniformity of Worship throughout three Kingdoms.

That they would without any human Respect, or ard to any Person whatsoever, labour to extirpate pery, the Hierarchy, all Herefy, Schilm, and Sustition.

. That they would expose their Lives and Fortunes, maintain the Liberties of the three Kingdoms, and to end the King's Person and Authority, as far as he ould concur with them in maintaining their Religion, Liberties.

4. That

The History of the Revolutions in England. 72

4. That they would faithfully discover such as they knew endeavour'd to fow Discord among the Partiesin League, or to obstruct the intended Reformation, by caufing Divisions between the King and his People.

5. That they would use all justifiable Means for con tinuing the Union between England and Scotland.

6. That they would protect and support all such a enter'd into the League, from which they would not fuffer any Person to be withdrawn.

7. That they would never fland Neuters, nor be in different in a Cause, which so nearly concern'd the Glory of God, the King's Honour, and the Prosperin

of the People.

Other Par-Įį.

1643.

Besides these general Points, which contain'd the Mo ticulars of tives, and express'd the Conditions of the Treaty, then were others more particular, which regarded the Exe cution of it, viz. That they should raise an Army i Scotland, of 18000 Foot, and 3000 Horse, furnish'd with 40 Days Pay and Provisions, which should rendevou at the Place appointed on the Frontiers, with a fuitable Train of Artillery, and Baggage: That the faid Arm should be commanded by a General of the Scots appoint ing, but who should execute the Orders he receive from both Kingdoms jointly: That Scotland should at the Expence of raising the Army, but to be reimburs by England: That the Parliament of England should furnish 30000 Pounds a Month for the Maintenance that Army, which Sum to be rais'd on the Estates of the Catholicks, the Bishops, their Adherents, and all other Enemies to their Sect: That no Treaty of Peaced Truce should be consented to, without the Concurrence of both Nations: That as long as the Scots Army should be imploy'd in England, the Parliament should cault the Coasts of Scotland to be guarded by 8 Sail of Meno War: That the Scots should have Berwick deliver'd to them for their Security, to be restor'd to the English upon a Peace, till which time the latter were to pay the Garrison.

Scots enter England.

brought to Oxford by Duke Hamilton himself, and much more by Lefley's entring England with 20000 Men at the Beginning of the Year 1644. What soever Duke Ha milton could alledge in his own Vindication, the King fuspected his Fidelity, which many others had long be

The Court was in a great Consternation at this News

1644:

Under the Family of the Stuarts, &c.

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mistrusted, and committed him to Prison. Then trose was taken notice of, but as he freely declares self, it ought to have been sooner, which would prevented a Mischief, then admitting of none but lent and dangerous Remedy.

Man in the World was ever more expert at Montrose ing himself out of Difficulties, and yet no Man bis Chaoftner reduc'd to them. His Measures were often ratter. by the Falshood and Inconstancy of those he was litated to imploy in his Undertakings, by cross ts and unexpected Accidents; but if ever so small spect remain'd, after a Disappointment, of retriewhat was loft, he never gave way to Despair. Vigour of the Execution still supplying the Want lecessaries, he must have been always victorious, he serv'd a fortunate Master. As late as it was to of giving a Diversion in Scotland, and forming a for the King, his Majesty asking the Marquis, her he could not think of any Means to bring it athat Lord answer'd, There were three Ways, must be immediately made use of. The first, to His Prothe Marquis of Autrim, an Irish-man by Birth, jeft.

Scot by Descent, into Ireland, who should there 10000 Men, and fend them over into Scotland. lecond, that he in the mean while should be sent his own Country, with what Troops could be him, especially Horse, detach'd by the Marquis eweastle from the Army he commanded in the The third, to fend some Person to the King of ark, to ask of him the Succours he had offer'd long e. The Kingapprov'd of his Project, and gave all ecessary Orders for the effecting of it, according to cheme laid by him that propos'd it. For the betromoting of the Marquis of Antrim's Levies, he orthe Marquis of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireto procure a Ceffation of Arms there, between Catholicks and the Protestants; both Parties being equally inclin'd to it. He was very loath to advance Step, which was contrary to the Decree he had d, that no Peace or Truce should be concluded the Irish Rebels, without the Consent of the Parlia-; as being fensible that his Enemies would not fail y that as a Crime to his Charge, which they put

apon the necessity of doing. But they having first

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broke in upon that Resolution, making use of the M ney appointed for the Irifb War, to carry on their R bellion; and the King standing in need of the Succom offer'd him against the Scots by both the Irish Parties, support his own, he gave way, and caus'd the Ceffatil of Arms to be concluded for a Year, and for the far time accepted of 10000, out of 20000 the Irish offer should join his Army, besides those that were to into Scotland with the Marquis of Antrim.

Parliament at Oxford.

The King having taken these Measures to set one am liary Nation against another, resolv'd to divide the h liament also, by summoning of it to Oxford. The Su mons, answer'd well enough, but the Advantage it m duc'd was inconfiderable. The better part of Pe that remain'd still at Westminster resorted to the Kin to take their Places in the Upper House, as did i Members of the House of Commons.

Scots Progress in

This new Parliament, which commenc'd on the: of January, propos'd a Treaty of Peace to the old of England, in adjusting the Preliminaries whereof the whole W ter was spent; the Presbyterian Cabal still grown more averie to Peace, as it found its Power increa and especially being then supported by a numerous my of Scots. For whilft the Winter Season was spent fruitless Negotiations, the Confederates, who were concern'd about them, entring England, under the Co mand of Lefley, had taken possession of Berwick, passing the Tweed, seiz'd the Castles of Warkuth, M peth, and Bisnuck; then having laid a Bridge of Bo over the Tyne, a little below Newcastle, they advant to Werk, and made themselves Matters of Sunderland

TheKing's Preparations.

This Progress of the new Rebels soon broke off Conferences, and oblig'd the King to think of farth Preparations. The Oxford Parliament help'd him raise some Money. Ireland furnish'd him with Troo which were incorporated with his own. By help these Supplies he soon brought his Armies into Field, to act in several Places under their distinct Col mands.

M. of Newcaffle ftreightmed.

The Spring was spent, as is usual; in disposing At ons by regular Motions, wherein every one endeavou to improve his Enemies Faults, for the attacking of h advantageously. The Summer was extraordinary activ I shall not stay to give an account of inconsiderable Sies

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d Fights, in which the Commanders on both fides nalize themselves, without any great Advantage to eir Party. I will follow the main Armies. The King two, one of which acted under his own Command ut London and Oxford, against Effex and Waller, etimes jointly, and sometimes separately; the other in the North under the Brave Marquis of Newe, who had to do with the Scots, join'd by the Earl Manchester and the two Fairfaxes. Upon their Junctithe Marquis of Newcastle had rais'd the Siege of , unleasonably began by him, as was that of Gloer by the King; and retiring to York to expect Prince bert and Montrose, who were to join him, was himf befieg'd.

Essex and Waller block'd up Oxford, thinking they Oxford d coop'd up the King there; but he had got out in block'd up. od time, and was marching at the Head of his Army vards Worcester. Those two Generals pursu'd him htly; but the Earl thinking Waller strong enough ne to fight, order'd him to pursue and observe his jesty, whilst he, to promote their Interest, march'd other way, to reduce those Counties that continu'd

yal. Waller had a good Army rais'd at the Expence of the tizens of London, who had agreed every Man once a eek to fave an Evening's Expence in his Family, and flow that Money in maintaining a Body of Troops;

intirely were those People posses'd with the Spirit of ebellion. The Courage of those new Men had been Alford tely try'd, at the taking of the Castle of Arundel, and Fight. an Engagement near Alford, where the Earl of Forth d Hopton loft near 500 Men of the King's Forces under eir Command, and were oblig'd to retire in dilorder, arce saving their Cannon. Many Men of Note were here kill'd, and among them John Stuart, Brother to he Duke of Richmond. Waller, puffed up with that access, press'd on to overtake the King, and to that irpose march'd into Staffordsbire, hoping to cut short; at the King guessing at his Design, instead of advancing ave back, and being near Oxford, drew out from thence

ome Regiments and Cannon he had left there, and then olding on his Way, advanc'd to Banbury. There he bund Waller drawn up so advantageously, that he hought not fit to attack him. In order to draw him

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Cropredy Fight.

from that Post, he retir'd towards Cropredy ; not que. stioning but that Waller, who had reinforc'd his Army with the Garrisons of Coventry, Warwick, Northampton, and Glocester, and seem'd resolv'd to fight, would follow him to that purpose; and so it fell out. The King had the little River of Charnel between him and Waller, and could have prevented his passing it, being Master of the Bridge; but instead of that, he drew back, that the other might pass, still narrowly observing what Sir Wil. liam would do when he came thither. That General never hefitated, fearing to lose the Honour of giving the decifive Stroke in the Common Cause, if he flip'd that Opportunity. He caus'd 2000 Horse, a Body of Foot, and 14 Pieces of Cannon, to pass over the Bridge, while the rest of his Army forded the River in other Places. The King, who observ'd him, order'd his Rear, commanded by the Earl of Cleveland to face about, and charg'd, that part of the Enemies Army fo successfully, whilst the Earl of Northumberland kept those at the Fords in play, that he routed it, and took the Cannon, with the Lofs of only 20 Men. Of Waller's above 1000 were kill'd and taken, and he forced to retire, to fave an entire Defeat. Historians differ about the Circumstances of this Battel, but they all agree about the Suc-The King had not much time to rejoice at it. No fooner was Waller withdrawn, than this Satisfaction was allay'd by the News brought out of the North. Prince Rupert had led a great Body of Horse to York, to raile the Siege there. He had already rais'd that at Newark, routing Meldrum, who commanded 6000 Men, there; and by the way taken Stopford, Leverpool, Lathom, and Boulton. Puff'd up with those Successes, he refolv'd to fight the Confederate Forces, if they would give him an Opportunity, notwithstanding they were superior in number. It was not their Part to avoid him fince the Advantage was on their fide. As foon as their Generals were inform'd of his Approach, they march'd out of their Lines, and met him. They ingag'd upon Marston-Moor, where the two Fairfaxes commanded the Right Wing, and the Earl of Manchester, the Left, Lesly with his Scots being in the Center. The Marquis of Newrastle was come out of the Town to confer with the Prince. Many advis'd to wait the coming of Montroje, who was marching towards them; but the Prince, abating

Marston-Moor Fight. ue-

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ating nothing of that fiery Temper, which was the casion of to many Faults as he committed, would ht immediately, and gave the Marquis of Newcastle, o it is likely was not of his Mind, very hard Words. at Battle was fought on the first Day of July, and 'd the Greatest, the Bloodiest, and one of the most five that were fought during that War. The Prince the Left Wing of his Army, the Earl of Newcastle Right, Goring, Lucas, and Endymion Porter the Victory at the first Onset seem'd to inter. e to all the Royal Party, the three Parliament herals giving way at once, and retiring in disorder. is was the Time when Cromwel began to exert Oliver felf, and discover one of those Talents which might Cromwel. e made him the greatest Man in the World, had not Ambition made him the Greatest Villain of Mand. He had the next Command under Manchester, been wounded at the first Charge, went off to be s'd, and as foon as that was done came again to his where he found Things in the Posture I have faid Any other Man would have run with the ram, and follow'd fuch Examples as he need not blush to feek his Safety by Flight. Cromwel father chole how what good Senfe can do, when seconded by our. He presently observ'd, that there was as much fusion among the Conquerors as the Conquer'd; e who pursu'd observing no more Order than those fled. Hence he concluded, that could he rally a ty, that would renew the Charge, and flick together, hould certainly bring over Victory to his own fide. judg'd right, and having one Brigade still intire, put felf at the Head of it, and being seconded by David y, the Scots General's Kinsman, fell so furiously, and he same time in such good Order upon the Royalists, had broke their Ranks, that he made them fly in r turn, took the Cannon and Baggage, and remain'd fter of the Field. Prince Rupert, having according is Custom, pursu'd those that fled too far, when he rn'd, found the Victory in the Hands of his Enes. The Vexation he was in, caus'd him to use base guage to the Marquis of Newcastle, and another e Man whose Name was Hurry; whereupon they h left the Service. Hurry went over to the Parliaht; the Earl, with his Children, and some Officers

1644 that had ferv'd under him went away to Hamborough leaving England to it's Destiny. Prince Rupert made Glenham Governour of York, in his stead, whilst he, with the Remains of his Army that could be brought toget

York fur-ther, retir'd towards Lancaster. Glenham held out some Time longer; but at length, no Relief coming, wa render'd. oblig'd to furrender. After this the Confederate marching to invest Newcastle, which was block'd upo the fide next to Durham, by the Earl of Calender, new

ly come out of Scotland with Seven Thousand Men Newcafile taken, took the Town by Affault, after a Siege of two Month and oblig'd the Earl of Brandford to furrender the Caff at Discretion. Thus was all the North of England in duc'd under the Power of the Parliament. The Row alifts had need of a more confiderable Advantage the that I mention'd above to counterpoise this Loss.

Effex in

The Earl of Effex after he had parted from Walls the West. had made a considerable Progress in the Western Cou ties, having taken several Places of Note, notwithstand ing Prince Maurice had some Forces on that fide, and now he threatned Exeter with a Siege. The Queenb ing ready to Lye-in, had retir'd thither, and was dell ver'd of the Princess Henrietta, afterwards Dutchess Orleans. When then the Enemies Army drew near, the Queen had fent a Trumpeter to the Earl of Effex, tod fire he would allow her some Time to recover, before he befieg'd the Place, and a Pass to go to the Bath. The Earl receiv'd that Message as rudely as the Parliament rians were us'd to do, telling the Trumpeter, the were Conveniences enough in London, whither the Queen might go, for he knew no other Place fo fafe for her to repair to. This Answer oblig'd her Majesty ship over privately into France, where she arriv'd Safety, notwithstanding Vice Admiral Batt made fer ral Discharges of Cannon at the Ship that carry'd her an Action no Country but England has the Misfortun to be guilty of.

Queen's Escape.

Effex coop'd up in Cornwal.

Essen had taken wrong Measures. The King pursul and drove him infenfibly towards Plymouth, then by fieg'd by Prince Maurice. The Earl was not fenfible his Error, till his Majesty incamping at Liskard, three Leagues from Lestithiel, where Effex lay, that General perceiv'd he was like to be inclos'd between two Armie He call'd a Council to advise what was to be done. Some

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for having him turn short upon the King and give Battle; for if the King's Army were deseated, a Calatine's must needs undergo the same Fate, and utb be reliev'd. Others were of the contrary of that they should undertake the easiest Task first, he Siege, and fight Prince Maurice, whose Troops neither so numerous, nor in such good Case as the

The Earl lik'd this Advice and follow'd it : ing towards Plymouth with all possible Expedition, was disappointed by the King's Celerity. The the Rebel Army advanc'd, the closer it was pent his Majesty's, which stretch'd out by degrees, ng it up on all fides, till having drove it into the Point of Cornwal, it was at once deprived of all Sube, and the Means of retiring to procure any. The laid hold of this Opportnuity to make a Proposal Earl, which would have fav'd his Reputation and d Peace to the Nation, had not the Spirit of Presblinded that General. His Majesty demanded a ence, wherein certain Points being fincerely apon between them, they should afterwards joyn Forces, to reduce those that should refuse to subto them; by which Means all England would restor'd to Peace; and those who were truly for blick Good would be fatisfy'd. The Earl heard oposal with the same Obstinacy he had receiv'd er Offers of Accommodation, returning his usual r, That he was fent to make War, and not to of Peace.

is Answer was the more surprizing, in regard that His Obstal was in such a Condition, that Peace would have nacy. Ionourable and Advantageous to him, whereas the lution of the War became daily more prejudicial. Honour, and destructive to his Fortune. He suffect to the ways; for being shamefully reduc'd to an Loses his dibility of Fighting, he was oblig'd to leave his whole Arto the Mercy of his Enemy. He made his E-my. o Plymouth, with some of his Officers. Somewhat two Thousand Horse, which was his whole Cafought through several ways at the same time. est of the Army laid down their Arms, and surd, with Forty Pieces of Brass Cannon, two Hundwrels of Powder, and all the Baggage. His Mapar'd all their Lives, like a good King; giving

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1644. those that desir'dit leave to depart, after taking an Ou never more to bear Arms against him; wherein he we beyond the Bounds Prudence prescribes to Goodne and other Virtues, having been sufficiently convin by Experience, that he had to do with Men the valu'd no Oaths. He found the same again; for all the that lifted not themselves in his Army, being the gre ter Number, took Arms against him, as soon as ask and it was observ'd that no Troops afterwards foul more obstinately against him than those.

Is compliament.

This Difatter made the Parliament Party mutter mented by gainst Effex, whose Reputation declin'd, and his Form the Parli- totter'd from that time forward. However, whether was not thought convenient to provoke him under Confusion Things were in, through his Misfortune, that a new Cabal, which intended to raise it self on Ruins, did not yet find it felf in a Condition to m their Advantage; the Parliament understanding, he was on his way to London, to clear himself, sent acquaint him, that they were fully fatisfy'd of his (duct : that they believed he had omitted nothing greatest General could have done under his Circums ces; that they only hop'd from his Valour to retrid the Misfortune that had hap'ned; that they there defir'd him to forget he had been on e Unfortunate, call to Mind how often his Resolution had been Succe ful; and that he should make hast to put himself at Head of an Army, which the Earl of Manchester, I ler, and Brown, were getting together for him, in der to obstruct the King's returning to Oxford, compassing whereof all Means were to be us'd.

Newbuxy second Fight.

The King, after the Defeat of Effex, which hap's in September, had reduc'd many Places in the West, narrowly miss'd taking of Plymouth; which Alexan Carew was to have deliver'd to him, but was discover and beheaded. He was upon the March to Oxfo with scarce a third Part of his Army, when the Ene met, and attack'd him at Newbury. Being Inferior them, he had intrench'd between the Town and Castle, expecting to be joyn'd by his Nephew Pro Rupert; who was bringing Three Thousand Horse; by the Earl of Northampton, who had One Thous more, with which he had reliev'd Bambury. The of Effex did not allow Time for those Succours to co

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He caus'd the Intrenchments to be attack'd, hoping orce them; but met with fuch Opposition as made purchase the Advantage he gain'd by Numbers, at ar Rate. The King, it is true, lost Three Thousand and Five Pieces of Cannon, befides fome Prifoners, mong them the Earl of Cleveland; the Number of lain on the Parliament fide was no less, and Night ing an End to the Fight, the Victory was undeci-The Earl of Effex claim'd it, because the King rein the Dark; his Majesty contested it with him, gard he did it to hold on his Way to Oxford, where riv'd fafe in spight of Effex. This Action had one equence, which gave both the Honour and the Adge to the Royal fide, beyond all Controverly,

in his March left his Baggage and Heavy Cannon at ington Castle. The Earl of Essex laid Siege to that Denning which being bravely defended by Boys the Go-ton rer, the King return'd to relieve it, rais'd the hev'di drove away the Rebels, re-took Newbury, and d off his Cannon to Oxford, without any Molestaabout the latter End of November.

foever the World judg'd of it at first. His Majesty

refe Advantages having made amends for the Loffes Monlajesty had sustain'd in the North, he was in a Con-trole's with Honour to pressthe Parliament to hearly brave with Honour to press the Parliament to hearken to Actions eaty; especially after News was brought of Mon-

Progress in Scotland, where that brave Man, ng Employment for a confiderable Part of the Ene-Forces, gave Hopes of a powerful Diversion. All uccours he had promis'd himself, all the Measures id taken, and even his Friends had fail 'd him. The Proops he rais'd, abandon'd him basely, and serv'd to give the Confederates Notice of his Defigns, fo they fecur'd all the Passes, and observ'd him narrow-Nevertheless, getting into his Country with only more besides himself, after lying conceal'd some at a Friend's House, he joyn'd Twelve Hundred commanded by Alexander Macdonald, fent over e Marquis of Antrim. The Gentry of the County hol, who were well affected to the Royal Party, ais'd him Seven or Eight Hundred Men, and Five dred more under the Command of Kilpunt, Son to Earl of Menteth, had reinforc'd his Party. With Imall Brigade, without any Horfe, or fcarce Arms;

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and not above one Charge round of Powder, Montrol took the Field. All Scotland was in a Commotion at the Report of it, and several Bodies were sent out to fight him, fo that he had always two at once to deal with The Earl of Argyle pursu'd, and us'd all Means to over take him. Montrofe skilfully shun'd him, till he wa grown strong enough to stand; but which way foever he turn'd, another Body was still ready to engage him. Being one Day near Perth, in that perplexing Condition on, he refolv'd to try, whether his Courage could m make amends for his want of Numbers. he attack'd and defeated an Army of Seven Thousan Foot and Eight Hundred Horse, with Nine Pieces Cannon; and did it fo fortunately, that without lofa a Man, or having any more than two wounded, I kill'd two Thousand of the Enemy, took as many h foners, their Baggage and Cannon, and afterwards in Town of Perth. After this Victory and Conquest, it brave Marquis advancing into the Counties of Am and Mern, still pursu'd by Argyle, had routed anoth Party of the Confederates near Aberdeen, killing on Thousand of them, with the Loss only of Five of h own. Next he fent Macdonald into the North, to t deavour to raise the Highlanders for their Prince's St vice, they having always been very Loyal; and having long shun'd meeting the Earl of Argyle, who was no withdrawn into his own Country to recruit his Ford during the Winter Season, Montrose march'd to surpris him in his Castle of Inderrary, whence he with mu difficulty made his Escape.

The King The News of these Successes having put the Kingin for a Trea. Condition, without Disreputation, to renew the straight posals for Peace, which he had offer'd the Parliams every time he had gain'd any Advantage over the during the Campaign, he now redoubled his Instances to the two Houses at Westminster, to bring them

a Treaty.

Presbyterians unthan they were at this Time. The Presbyterian Cabl
geasonable, which had still govern'd that Assembly, would not a
mit of it, unless on such Conditions as the King could
not grant, and yet was for it on such Terms. They wer
for a King without Power, but still for a King, and on
ly waited to reduce him to a Necessity of complying
with them.

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From that Sect another had lately sprung, under prece of a farther Reformation, which did not only hate King, but Kingly Government, and had therefore Independed to abolish it, and to set up a Commonwealth, dants. The every Man might have a Share of the Government.

t in his Turn. is not exactly known, when this strange Defign irst laid by the Independant Sect, which is that we speak of, in regard, that pretending to carry the el Liberty still further than the Presbyterians, they nly rejected Bishops, but Synods also ; saying, that Congregation was to govern it self, independant y other, wherein they plac'd the Liberty of the dren of God. At first this new fort of Sectaries no otherwise distinguish'd from among the Presrians, than as is usual in all other Religious Societies cern betwixt the more Zealous and the Luke-warm, pose and the more Rigid, by a greater Indifferency ds all Pomp and Superiority, whether in Church te; by more Heat for restoring the Practice of ospel to its Primitive Purity; and by long Prayd Discourses, which discover'd much Conceit of ation, and real Enthusiasm. Their Notion of Indency made the Distinction, and gave them a and the others Cause to suspect them. There were Controversies among them, notwithstanding the , these last adding Artifice, Flattery, fair Proand even good Turns to the Colour of Reformancreas'd so much; as to form a numerous Sect of nt Tools, gain'd by their Hypocrify, and a formi-Faction of ambitious and self-ended Men, their ng and Policy gain'd them from all Sects. this Number was he, who in process of Time ap-Oliver to be the Chief of all that Party, and who was fo Cromwell y, without being taken notice of. A Man born t any Inclination to Vice, or Affection to Virtue, y dispos'd to practise all Virtues, and commit all s, as either was conducing to his Defigns. This ption shows Oliver Cromwel, before spoken of. e Talent for War, fo fatal already to the King's having added much to the Renown of his Capa-Civil Affairs, he had gain'd fuch an Ascendant I his Party, that he was become the very Soul of odesty and Devotion, which of all the Virtues he

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this Superiority on the more folid Foundation, in regard it was the less contradictory to the Independency they profess'd, in a Man that did not affect it, but who seem in all his Actions to aim at no other End but the Advancement of Religion, and the Publick Good. His indifferent Birth contributed much towards removing any Jealousy the zealous Sectaries might otherwise have conceived of him; for he was well enough born not to be contemptible, and yet not so well as to be supposed to superiorize the Sovereignty.

The Selfdenying Ordinance

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Under the Conduct of this Head that Party by degree got the Superiority in the Parliament. They had m gain'd fo much at the Time I speak of, any otherwill than by Artifice and Intriguing; by which Means the fo far prevail'd, as to change all the Prime Officers the Army, putting in such as were entirely devoted their Interest. The Slight they made use of to brid this about, was the paffing of an Ordinance, under lour of restoring the Parliament to its first Being, for which it feem'd to have declin'd, for all the Member to return to it immediately, and to quit all other 0 ces and Imployments. This Bufiness was so well nag'd, that tho' the House of Lords, where that Par had the least Interest, made some Opposition, the Chi Officers of the Army themselves consented to the B cution of it. The Earl of Effex laid down his Co mand as General, and had a Penfion of Ten Thous Pounds settled on him. The Earls of Manchester 1 Denbigh follow'd his Example; after which no N made any Difficulty of furrend'ring up his Commission to fuch as the Parliament was pleas'd to appoint. I

Fairfax New Faction fail'd not to fill them all with their and Crom Creatures. Sir Thomas Fairfax, Son to Ferdinand twel, Gene-Baron, succeeded the Earl of Essex; and Cromwel, trals.

Head of the Cabal, was appointed his Lieutenant of neral, being dispens'd with, notwithstanding his being of the House of Commons, for quitting the Army, who shows to what a Pitch of Reputation he was them.

riv'd.
They could never have match'd two Men better, the carrying on of the Defigns they had in Hand was intended that Cromwel should Rule, and therefore

most Commissions in the Army were bestow'd on

ndred and Creatures. It was not yet thought fit that should have the Supreme Command, for fear the eat ones of the Presbyterian Party, who would not e lik'd to see an Upstart at the Head of them, should lispleas'd. According to this Scheme Fairfax was Fairfax's properest Person that could be chosen to bring a Character. their Ends. His Birth, Service, Courage, and ike Temper sufficiently qualify'd him to represent me Actor. His mean Capacity, and want of Fore-, which made him active without Thought, tho' y and hypocondriack, fit to be impos'd on under coof Religion, made him fit to receive the Imprefgiven him by another, and be guided by Cromwel. s Fairfax made the show, and Cromwel manag'd all. he concerting of these Measures with such Art and lication, did not shew any good Disposition to Peace he Parliament Side. The Beginning of the Year farther discover'd their Averseness, by two conble Actions of that Assembly. The one was the The Direg out of a Book call'd, The Directory, in opposition ctory. e Liturgy, authorizing Extempore Prayer, and difing the Publick Worship from all the Ceremonies in the Church of England. The Scots lik'd it so that they approv'd of it in their Synod, and foon in their Parliament. The other was the Execution Laud Exeud, Archbishop of Canterbury, which had been put cuted. Il then. No question was made but that Episcomust fall with its Supporter. The Scots press'd olishing of it; the Parliament made some Excuse e Delay, telling them the Walls of Jerusalem rose y, but they should soon see them finish'd. e Factious Party, who were for no Peace, had rethat Article for the Treaty the King proposid, which they durst not refuse, for fear of being look'd as Enemies to the publick Peace; but they renit ineffectual, according to their Custom, by the lals they made. e Treaty was held at Uxbridge, where the Com-Treaty of ners for the King, for the Parliament, and for the Uxbridge met. The Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of d, the Earls of Southampton, Dorset, and Chichethe Barons Capel, Seymore, Dunsmore,

and. latton, Secretary Nicholas, Sir Edward Hude, afneret d on

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Culpeper,

1645.

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mands.

mer, were the King's Commissioners. The chief on the Parliament fide were the Earls of Northumberland, Pem broke, Denbigh, and Salisbury, the Lord Wenman, Si Henry Vane the Younger, Pierpoint, Hollis, Prideaux, and St. John. The Earl of Loudon, the Marquis of Argyli and 4 others of less note, were there for the Scott Much less would have ferv'd to treat about a Peace which only one Side was for. The Fault of its no being concluded was none of the King's. He ender your'd to make all things easy, us'd all manner of Com pliance, and confented to all Articles that could have been requir'd of him by any but fuch as demanded in possibilities. The Parliament insisted on four Point which the King's Conscience, his Honour, and his Di nity could not allow him to grant, viz. the furrendering up his faithful Servants to Justice, or rather to the M lice of the two Houses; the yielding up of the Milin the breaking of the Ceffation of Arms in Ireland, a the abolishing of Episcopacy. Upon the rejecting these Conditions, the foftned with all the best Meansh Majesty could find out, all Hopes of Peace ceas'd, a they broke up to renew the War more hotly than end

Accordingly it prov'd more decifive. No fooner with begun, than one Battel smartly fought put the work fide into such a declining Condition, that is could never cover. This is the Pitch of Success, which I said before King Charles always wanted to subdue his Enemies, a one of the critical Actions wherein Fortune for sook his

The King had open'd the Campaign in such manner as gave ground to hope it would crown all the Success of the others. He had reliev'd Chester, attack'd beester, the taking whereof struck a Consternation in City of London. Fairfax, who laid Seige to Oxfor had been oblig'd to raise it, to give some check to Progress. The Army being thus brought together, on a Plain near the Town of Nazeby, which gave Natto the Battel. Fairfax, Cromwel, and his Son-in-lateron, the three prime Movers of the Rebels Arm were Men that would not let slip a Moment that might decide the Quarrel. Some advis'd the King to wait more savourable Opportunity than what was then presented; but that was the Time God had appointed punish the Sins of the English Nation, which had no fill'd their Measure. His Majesty in War sought?

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1644.

casions to fight, as in Peace he shun'd War. Those advis'd him to gain Time, for Goring who was on March to join him, were not regarded; the Counsel hose who were for fighting, was approv'd and fold. Nay, that Prince is faid to have been afraid that Enemy would flip from him, and that having been inform'd that they were retiring, he made hafte arfue them, leaving his heavy Cannon behind, to h the lighter. He had not far to go, having but et out, when he found them drawn up in the Fields Nazeby. Fairfax commanded in the Center, Cromon the Right, and Ireton on the Left. The King ng taken as much Ground as was requifite to form army, plac'd the two Palatines on the Right, at the d of a Body of Horse, and the Lord Langdale on the to command another. Lindsey and Ashley led the next to the two Princes; Barde and Lifle thole to Langdale; the King himself being in the Cen-The Signal being given, all mov'd, and charg'd fuch Fury as became a Civil War : Prince Rupert, ding to his Custom, fell so violently upon Ireton's , that nothing could withstand him; in a moit was broke, routed, and put to flight. Ireton receiv'd two Wounds, was disabled and taken. that fiery Prince been corrigible this third time; he, instead of pursuing those that fled, too far, n'd in time, there had been an End of the Enemies Cromwel, who had gain'd the same Advantage the other Wing, knew better how to make use of He gave them he had defeated leave to run, and ing short, fell in where the King was making Fair-give way. Whatever that Prince could do to enge his Men, Cromwel's Effort was more successful. better follow'd: All gave way before him: His efty being forlaken, was forc'd to retire; such as d escape being kill'd or taken, fled scattering, withknowing what way to go The Victory was com-, tho' more of the victorious Side was flain than at which fled; the latter having lost but 600 Men, former 1000. Bating that odds, the Parliamentamight boast of the compleatest Victory that had gain'd in the Memory of Man: Ireton was rescu'd, Baggage, Cannon, Colours, and near 5000 Prilowere the least Advantages the Victors gain'd, G 4 From

The History of the Revolutions in England. 88

From that time the Crown totter'd on unfortunate 1645. Charles's Head, and his new Enemies made fo fure of overthrowing it very foon, that, laying afide all Re spect to his Person, they presum'd to print some Letter found in his Cabinet from himself to the Queen, and

The King's from the Queen to him, with malicious Reflections of Letters them, representing it as a heinous Crime for a Kingh printed. ask for foreign Succours to reduce his rebellious Sul jects, and for a Woman to endeavour to rescue her Hu

band from Oppression.

An inward Presage of what was to follow, or rathe a fettled Resolution of what they intended to do, mad them so bold to affront their Prince. Till then bot Sides had made War with an Intention to carry it ont a certain Pitch, each proposing to reduce, not to de

Designs of stroy his Enemy. This nice Mean had several time the Inde- cool'd the Heat of War, render'd Actions less vigorou pendants, and as has been observ'd, caus'd the flipping of som

Opportunities that might have decided it. thods were chang'd in the Parliament Forces, becau they had alter'd their Defigns and Intentions; the who were then uppermost knew nothing of that Mod ration; and the End they aim'd at being the Subverting of Kingly Government, it was now their Bufinels have no more regard for the King; to improve all the Advantage they had gain'd over him, to press and ftroy him. Ill Fate so order'd it, that their Power w equal to their Malice. Most Men in Authority wer of Cromwel's choosing, who of all Men in the World be knew how to chuse them, and as he knew how to chull he knew how to fet them to Work. One would have thought that Vivacity he exerted at Nazeby, had bet infus'd into all the Heads of the Party, every one whom pursu'd this Success where he was appointed, hastily was the Revolution coming on.

The Resolution taken of marching to relieve Taunti then besieg'd by Goring, rather than pursue the King who retir'd towards Hereford, was a Masterly Stroke which fav'd the Victors much Trouble. Taunton, which the Parliament Historians compare to Saguntum, for it Taunton Constancy to that Party, could scarce hold out three Weeks, a long Seige having wasted its Men, Provisions and Ammunition. If that Place were taken, the had been Maller of all the West of England, and 6

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joining him, as an intercepted Letter shew'd he nded to do, his Cause had recover'd Life; the Royal fe, which had fuffer'd least at Nazeby, insensibly gaing up to that Prince. In Case that happen'd, a derable Body of Troops, commanded by Welden ofe Parts, could not fail of being cut off. The Foreand Celerity of the Victors prevented all those Ineniences. Fairfax came to Taunton before Goring I reduce it, who drew off towards Langport, where op'd to join some Brigages the King was fending to him. Fairfax's Expedition prevented and overtook Goring at Langport, where he was routed. Few were kill'don routed. fides, in all scarce 400. However the victorious Retook the Cannon, Baggage, 51 Colours and Standards, 2000 Prisoners, among whom was Porter, Lieutenant oring, and 50 other Officers of Note. He durst not ue those that fled far, for fear of leaving Bridgwater, ice of Consequence, behind him, which he attack'd took. Sherburn and Bath had the same Fate. Brifoon follow'd, being furrender'd by Prince Rupert, grown weary of fighting against Fortune, at this made not good that Character of Undauntedness ch had lessen'd the Opinion of his Discretion; he ving cautious when it was too late. He is faid to Pr. Rupert writ to the King, That he must no longer stand in despair. n Points of Honour and Conscience, which had then obstructed his agreeing with the Parliament; must submit to Necessity, and give way to his Fate. s Freedom feem'd to the King fo dangerous in the imple, that he took away the Government of Oxford, n Leg, the Prince's Friend, and bestow'd it on bam; for his Majesty, notwithstanding those fresh fortunes, was not yet cast down. Since his Retreat Hereford, he had made several Excursions, with such is Troops as he could gather after the Rout at Nazeand some new Levies made in haste. He had re-'d some Places that were besieg'd, and encouraged le to continue in his Service, whom his Misfortunes ght have tempted to quit it, and return'd to Oxford, er several Adventures, which he had dexterously maed, to convince the English, that it was an Honour warlike Nation to have him for their King. behind him Bernard Stuart, kill'd in an Action near ter, which the King had march'd to relieve. This Lord

1645.

Lord was the third Brother the Duke of Richmond los in that War. In other respects those Excursions had not been fruitless; and had not the prudent Measure taken by his Majesty been broken by his ill Fate, he might in a short time have been again formidable to his

Enemies, who began to despise him.

Montrole Montrose had behav'd himself so well in Scotland, the Master in he was Master there. He had harrass'd, beaten, and Scotland. disabled the Marquis of Argyle, and other great Men that appear'd against him in defence of the Covenant and the League of the two Nations. He had gain'd the Battel of Killyth, where being join'd by the Gordons, he entirely defeated Baily, killing 4000 Men, with the Lofs of only fix of his own. This Victory had fo god an Effect, that he was Master in a short time, and wen as far as Edinburgh to recover Prisoners. All this made for the King, and it was now reckon'd, that Scotland was lopp'd off from the League. Montrose wante Horse to finish what was wanting of so great a World and the King had fent him fome before his Return Oxford. Langdale and Digby, who led them, had de feated the first that attempted to stop them; but frell Enemies coming on, and finding them fatigu'd after their late Engagement, they were routed and dispers'd On the other hand, Lefley, who laid fiege to Hereful with the Confederate Army, being inform'd how Mat ters flood in Scotland, had rais'd the Siege, which di

not advance much, with Precipitation, and by long Marches furpriz'd Montrose, whom his Scouts had de ceiv'd, being themselves impos'd upon, and defeated him at Selkirk on the 13th of September. Montrose recover'd that Loss, but the King was in m

condition to make any advantage of his Success. In les than half a Year he had neither Towns nor Forces that could stand the Enemy. The Winter gave little Check to their Conquests. Fairfax and Cromwel being parted each of them took as many Towns as they laid Siege to or rather, all they summon'd; for few would stand: Garrisons Siege, when there was no likelihood of Relief. Fairfax took Berkley and Tiverton; Cromwel the Devizes, Latcock, Winchester, and the strong Castle of Basing, where the Marquis of Winchester, a firm and zealous Catho lick, being taken Prisoner, blessed God that he had preferv'd his Loyalty to his King untainted, to extreme old

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e, being ready to feal it with his Blood; an Examthe more remarkable at that time, in regard there e but few. Cromwel ended his Course at Langford, re having again join'd Fairfax, they march'd toer to Plymouth, and rais'd that Siege, which had in almost as foon as the War. They took Dartb, not far distant, tho' defended with 100 Cannon. nce they advanced to Exeter, which they durst not k before, but had caus'd it to be block'd up all the ter, in order to besiege it in the Spring. begun to appoint what Works were to be carried when they were inform'd that the Prince of Wales, had some time commanded for his Father in those s, was fending to relieve it. That Prince had made ertures of Peace, and writ to Fairfax, who return'd the same Answer the Earl of Essex had done, upon like Occasion, that he was there to make War, not reat of Peace. Goring had us'd his Endeavours, with better Succeis: He now, as well as many others, out with so many fruitless Efforts, had at length tted the Service, and embarking to go beyond the Sea, left Wentworth 3000 Horse, the Remains of his For-

Hopton had still 4000 Foot; the Prince of Wales d these two small Bodies, and made a little Army, h which he would have Hopton attempt the Relief of ter. That General was upon his March, when fax being inform'd of it, advanc'd to meet him. ton hearing of his Approach, intrench'd himself at Hopton rington. Fairfax attack'd him in his Trenches, and routed at 'twice repuls'd, forc'd them, and routed him. All Torring-King's Foot was here intirely loft, being either kill'd, ton. en, or dispers'd, the Horse suffer'd little, and Hopton presence of Mind enough in his Misfortune to save s small Remain of the unfortunate King's Shipwreck. s Conduct gain'd him Honour; but that small Numr of Men he brought off could not retrieve the King Master's Affairs, which were now past all Mens opes; the Prince of Wales himself failing away to the lings. Hopton gave Ear to the Proposals made him Fairfax for difarming, upon such Terms, as confiderg the Posture of Affairs, he thought did no affect his onour. He was loath to submit, but the Necessity is pressing, being like to be hemm'd in at the Point Cornwall, whither Fairfax had pursu'd him, between

1645. the Enemies Army and the Sea. Besides, he had Intel

ligence of the Condition the King was in. Herefor Hereford the loyalest of all his Towns, had been furprize and Che- Chester was at length taken, after having been the taken liev'd by him in Person, and long defended by Byn against all the Efforts of the Parliament, who fear'd! Ireland would come over that way to his Relief; Forces were defeated in all the Northern Counties ; t Scots had actually taken Carlifle, and laid Siege Newark, after the Victory they had obtain'd in the own Country. The King himself at Oxford was atten ed by the faint Remains of a Court, confifting of Me dejected, in Confusion, divided among themselves, a giving Advice, which could not in Prudence be take because proceeding from Discontent; rather to be tied for wanting good Advice to give, than to be bland for giving what was ill; every one claiming the H nour, when too late, of having counfell'd well, with being regarded. This desperate Posture of his M jesty's Affairs made Hopton resolve to treat, rather the expose a confiderable number of brave Men, that fil follow'd him, to perish. The Conditions were honor They dispers'd, every Man having leave ton turn home, or go beyond Sea; the Officers with the Arms, Servants and Baggage; the Soldiers with fom Money to go where they pleas'd. Exeter foon furror der'd after Hopton's Misfortune; the Earl of Bristol his

Excter and other render'd.

Places fur- leave to go over into France. Barnstable follow'd the Example of Exeter. Mount St. Michael and Pendenni Strong Holds near the Land's End in Cornwal were let with fome others, that would have the Honour of be

ing the last that surrender'd.

Oxford invefted.

The Victors were in hafte to go to Oxford, where they could get the King into their Hands, they did not question being soon Masters of the Kingdom, and the Sovereignty. To this effect Fairfax commanded Inton and Fleetwood to advance and invest the Town, till he could come up with all the Army, to form the Siege. His Majesty being there reduc'd to Extremity was oblig'd to take a desperate Course.

Oxford could still hold out, but there being no Relief TheKing's to be expected, what soever Resolution were shown, it desperate must of necessity fall into the Hands of the Oppressors. Condition. His Majesty had again in vain attempted some Accom-

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dation with the Parliament; offering all in general this Misfortunes would allow his Conscience and nour to grant; and affuring them, that as to Partirs, he would fettle them all in fuch manner with n, that they should have no Cause to complain, and fing them to admit him to pass, whatsoever wellning Men should think necessary towards a Peace. were fo far from giving Ear to him, as to let him y, he must expect to be confin'd, if he attempted pair to London, and publick Proclamation was made Il Officers to secure him, if he were found upon Way. He is faid to have offer'd the Army to put felf into their Hands, and to have receiv'd no bet-Answer from them. Some say that Prince had not yet able to undeceive himself, being fully per-Hed, that notwithstanding all they did, his Subjects d him, and would be fatisfy'd, when he should conend to yield up some Points they were positive in; this was his last Refuge, in which he plac'd so much anfidence as to neglect all others. It is more likely xpected that Return of his People to him, from the fions which daily increas'd between the Presbyteriand the Independants. In short, it is likely the er were afraid that might happen; for Cromwel, who a watchful Eye every where, went away to London purpole to obstruct the King's being receiv'd there. ere is no Question but that they having resolv'd to troy him, were for taking of him in Arms, that so he tht be render'd the more odious to the People, and more plaufibly charg'd with those Crimes, that e to ferve for a Pretence to colour the Paricide they e contriving.

The unfortunate King being thus rejected on all sides, He sies to reduc'd to a Necessity of casting himself away, with the Scots. the Liberty of chusing his Precipice. Only one was him, and that he threw himself upon. Most of his wants were keptignorant of his Resolution, and were y inform'd by the Event. He had vanish'd on a suda, disguising himself at Night, after committing the cret to Asburnham, a trusty Servant, and one Huda Minister, whom he took along with him. The ws of his Escape being spread abroad in the Town, Country about, soon reach'd the Army, that was twing near to Oxford, and the Parliament. Every

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Man guess'd according to his Fancy, at the Endan 1646. Defign of fuch a mysterious Escape, till it appear'd, the his Majesty was fled to put himself upon the Scots, wh

still lay at the Siege of Newark.

English at variance.

This Account brought to London surprized the Parl and Scots ament the more, in regard the two Nations begann to agree fo well as they had done. The Scots putto high a Value upon those Services the English thought the flood no longer in need of; they grew rich in England and kept Possession of the Places they took, which w an open Breach of the Treaty. They had very litely done so at Carlifle, into which they put a Garrison. Som Tharp Letters, and bitter Expostulations had pass'de both fides upon this Occasion. That Breach wasm well made up; the favourable Reception given the Kin and that Prince's going away with them to Newcast after some Motions which seem'd to carry a good U derstanding, had made it the wider; and their Min feem'd to be quite alienated. However these Beginning being manag'd by Complaints, Remonstrances, mutu Protestations of adhering to the Conditions of the Leagu and Covenant, Demands, Representing of Grievances and Breach of Treaties, and Proposals made for a fin and general Peace, the Negotiations between the tw Nations held long enough, before their Animofitie broke out, to gain the English Time enough to reduce all the Places, that still held out for the King. For was only towards their Sovereign that the Parliament England, or rather the Cabal, us'd no Moderation. A foon as ever it was known that he was fled to the Scott publick Declaration was made, that he was ill inclin'd to Peace, and intended to heighten the Animofities be tween the two Nations, to enable himself to carry in the War. Whilst the Parliament contriv'd to destroy him with the Pen, the Army went to stripping him with the Sword. They befieg'd Oxford, a strong Town furnish'd with Men, Provision, and Ammunition, to endure a long Siege, supported by the Presence of the Duke of York, and the two Palatines, and by the Expe rience and Resolution of Sir Thomas Glenham, the Go vernor, a Man famous for having defended York, a gainst three Armies, and Carlifle till they were reduc'd to eat Dogs, and Horses. A Town so provided might expect the flowest Relief, if any were to be hop'd for.

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for. The e Noise there was about the Differences between the 1645. liament of England, and the Scots Army, on account he King's Escape, might afford some Expectation; the English preffing to have that Prince deliver'd to n, and the Scors contending to keep him, both fides come to hard Words, Threats and opprobious els, which feem'd to presage a Rupture; but a pri-Contrivance, which Time discover'd, on a sudden chang'd the Scene. All Things appear'd to tend Peace between the two contending Nations; all es of Relief vanish'd for the Besieged, not only in rd, but of all other Places, as yet maintain'd for King, by a few Loyal Subjects. Thus they every The King re capitulated, all Places submitted to the Conque-surrenders They had Orders fo to do, the King being willing all Places, ndeceive the People, as to what the Parliament had n out against him, that he was averse to Peace. His thy fuffer'd himfelf to be perswaded by the Scots, to m he had at first caus'd Newark to be surrender'd, blige all Men and Towns that still fought for him, y down their Arms, and the Strong Holds which held out in England to Submit to the Parliament. s Montrose, the Gordons, Mac-Mahon, hlanders, who were still a confiderable Party in the of Scotland, were compell'd to disperse, and Monto go over into Hungary. The Marquis of Ormond positive Orders to carry on the War against the Caicks in Ireland. All the Places in Wales, Cornwal and r Parts, which had not before submitted to the Parent, now open'd their Gates. Oxford obtain'd Ho-Oxford able Conditions, by which is was agreed, that the Capitula-Palatines should depart the Kingdom after a Time tion. inted; that the Lords of the King's Party, who then in the Town, should not be molested, for haferv'd him; that Glenham and his Officers, with est of the Loyal Troops that compos'd the Garrison, ld march out with their Arms and Baggage, Cos flying, and Drums beating, to a certain Distance out the Town, where those Troops should be dised, and every Man should either go Home, or bethe Sea; the City and University should have heir Privileges preserv'd, that the King's Servants ld carry his Equipage to Hampton Court, where should expect his Orders; that the Seals, and

Sword

1646.

Sword of State should be laid up in the Library of on ford. Only the Duke of York was excluded the Capita lation; his Enemies refusing to grant any Terms in him. They only promis'd he should be conducted with an Honourable Retinue to London, where the Duke Gloucester and the Princess Elizabeth were, and be then treated as they were, till fuch time as the King the Father was in a Condition to manage his own Houshol Affairs.

After the Surrender of Oxford no other Place though it felf oblig'd to hold out, and confequently the Victor posses'd themselves of Bambury, Caln, Worcester, Wood Stock, Ragland, Ludlow, Litchfield, Penbigh, and Pende nis, all furrender'd, and Hamilton rescu'd in this la was fent back into his own Country. Williams, Arc bishop of York, a Man infamous for having abandon the King, who had facrific'd himself for Episcopacy, to

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Money offer'd the Scots.

All the small Remains of the Royal Party in eve Corner of the Kingdom vanish'd upon the Loss of the Places. Justice had not fo intirely abandon'd the who Nation, but that there were still some Consciention Persons, who offer'd up their Prayers for the King; it was in private; such good Wishes were punish'd High Treason. It had been hop'd the Scots would do mo than offer up Vows; but those Hopes vanish'd, who Cromwel's Cabal hadinfpir'd the Parliament to dazle the Eyes with that Mettle which encourages the committen of the greatest Crimes. After many Negotiations, m ny Contests, and many Journeys backward and forward which feem'd daily to threaten an open Rupture between the two Nations, the Parliament was advis'd to offerth Scots a confiderable Sum of Money, under Colour of quiting their Services, but in Reality to buy the Kin out of their Hands.

They fell

The Conclusion of that Treaty, or rather of that is the King. famous Bargain, gave the Scots, or their Army, free Trouble; for it is not reasonable to charge a whole M tion with the Actions of a few selfish Forces. They wer fenfible that in felling their King, they had fold the Reputation, and that all Europe would abhor fo viles Action; but besides the Shame of such an infamous Bu gain, they could not avoid the Confusion of breaking their Words, so often engag'd to that Prince in a prival Treat nd,

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reaty they had with him, wherein to their greater 1646. fgrace, the Ministers of France had been concern'd th them.

For the better understanding of this Point, it is to be ferv'd, that the King's withdrawing himself to the s Army, was not fo entirely the Effect of Despair, t that there was some Forefight in it. We have au-Their Perentick Memoirs that prove they themselves had first fidiousness. pos'd it, and fent Sir - Murray into France, to at with the King the more fafely, by the Interpolition that Crown. It is true his Majesty did not then aner their Expectation; whether he had no Confidence them, or whether, having still Armies on Foot, and od Towns in Possession in England, he thought he ight yet recover the Loss at Nazeby with more Hour by his own Power, than by the Affistance of a Nan, which had been the Occasion of all his Missorhes. However, the Treaty had not been quite broke , and Montrevil, the French Envoy in the Scots Army, d fet it on Foot again, some Time before the King folv'd to retire to it. Nor is it less true, that of all e Things they had promis'd Montrevil in favour of at Prince, one whereof was, that they would not deer him up to the Parliament of England, unless upon ood and folid Peace, there was nothing in writing; the ts refusing to do any Thing that might convict them of ving treated with the King, contrary to their Covent, and the League with the English. But the Proifes they had made were fo eafy to be prov'd, that they uld fave nothing by denying them but the bare Evince. Besides, they were still answerable to France for ving made use of its Minister to draw the King into a are. They knew that the Prefident Bellievre, appointby the Queen Regent, Ambassador Extraordinary, make the last Effort for the King of England, was tually charg'd to complain of that Wrong, and exess his Resentment.

The Scots were fenfible they had no other way to shift f this Trouble, but by fettling an honourable Peace vances. tween the King and his Parliament. They had alady attempted it, and prevail'd with that Assembly to opole some Articles; not questioning, but that the resbyterians, who were for restoring the King, would Fer some reasonable Terms; and that the King, who

had no other Remedy left him, would be necessitated to condescend to any such.

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The Project was good, and might have succeeded, Proposals. had Cromwel, and the Independents, been less sharp fight. ed; but they had foreseen the Event, and forestall'd it, by the Care they took to have the Proposals carry'd fo high as to Unking his Majesty, and to suppress kingly Government, which they rightly concluded he would never confent to. The Articles offer'd at Uxbridge were modest, if compar'd with these. Those which regard. ed the abolishing of Episcopacy and the Hierarchy, the Power of the Militia and Garrisons, and the delivering up of the King's faithful Servants to the Malice of the Parliament, were fo far enlarg'd, that they look'd not like the fame. The wifer Sort of the Presbyterians, the Chief of whom the Earl of Effex then was, who food after dy'd, unfortunately for the King, labour'd in van to mollify those Articles. The Independents having gain'd the Ascendant over those of the opposite Faction, who were not clear fighted enough to perceive what those Artifices tended to, were always sure to pass all Proposals that were disadvantagious to the King, which did not plainly express his Deposition, or Death. They had fail'd of carrying what was at first proposide which was, to confine him at Warwick, when recover'd from the Scots. The Earl of Effex had declar'd against it, and been fo well feconded by the Peers, that the bloody Cabal plainly perceiv'd, their intended Parricide could not be yet brought to bear. In all other Respects they had the Superiority in all Debates. The Scots were foon made fenfible of it, by the small likelihood they found of moderating the Proposals sent the King by the Parliament. They were for holding them to those of Uxbridge, and that the Disposal of the Militia should be left to both Parties joyntly, but they could not prevail. They hop'd that Bellievre, who came over in the interim, would procure more moderate Courfes, and were as much disappointed that way as the other: Bellievit was an able Man, well known before in England, where he had with Applause held the same Character he then came with. The Parliament gave him a good Reception, and declar'd, that the Nation was with all polfible Respect and Gratitude sensible of the King of France's Care to reconcile their Differences; but the

The French interpose. to

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Speaker added. That the two Houses had resolv'd not to accept of the Mediation of any foreign Prince towards that Peace. Bellievre did not dismay, but treated separately with the Chief of them; yet the farther he advanc'd, the plainer he perceiv'd he labour'd in vain, to make them recede from what the prevailing Faction had resolv'd to stand by. Thus despairing of any Success at London, he set out for Newcastle, thinking to engage the Scots Army to support the King against the English; or if he could not prevail, to perswade that Prince to agree with them, and to grant that which those very Men who design'd his Destruction, caus'd to be demanded, with no other intent, than that he should refuse it.

Rellieure try'd both Ways to no purpole. France had Why they been a long Time in a very dangerous Condition; and could not having all the Power of the House of Austria to deal affift the with, under an Infant King, and a Minister that was King. envy'd, had no other way to act for the King of England but by Mediation, good Offices, and Solliciting, for fear the English and Scots should joyn with Spain, which Crown endeayour'd by all forts of Artifices to draw them over to their Alliance. Cardinal Righlien had thun'd that Danger, even after the King of England's Misfortunes had made France forget he had been their Enemy. Cardinal Mazarine took the same Measures. One Point in Bellieure's Instructions was, to remember, that the King his Master, as his Affairs then stood, could only afful the English Monarch with his Interest, and Endeavours, and therefore he should forbear Threats, fince it was not becoming a great King to threaten and fall off. He was only permitted to exprobrate with the confederate Scots, and to represent to them, that France now perceiv'd none of that Regard and Zeal they formerly express'd towards it, in their Proceeding; that France had just Cause to complain of them, for having to often violated their Promifes made to its Ministers, in behalf of their own King; that they Their Enhad Murray's Proposals and Credentials; and that, the deacourts Montrevil had nothing in writing, the verbal Promiles they had made him were for agreeable with Murray's, which they fill preferved at Paris; that no Man would question the Truth of them when made acquainted.

The Ambaffador us'd all his Art and Eloquence to make these Complaints effectual; but all in vain. The Money the English Parliament had promis'd the Scott, knit them much faster together than the League and Co.

The Scots venant could do. The Ambassador receiv'd an Answer Answer. civil enough, as to his own Particular, and no less respectful towards his Master, to satisfy a Man, who was

refolv'd to rest satisfy'd. They told him, that what Murray had faid, not being accepted of at that Time, Affairs were alter'd, and the King's present Condition discharg'd them from the Engagement they had been willing to enter into with him, when they could have Supported him. They commented upon the Promise made to Montrevil, and laid the Blame of Non-perfor-

mance on the King.

Bellievre feeing no Prospect of faving the King, unless he help'd himfelf, made Application to him; conjuring him by all he held dearest, to facrifice some Part of the Prerogative rather than lose the Crown, and to comply with some Particulars the Rebels had set their Heart's upon, by that Means to prevail on them to de part from some others. The Officers of the Army, and prime Men of Scotland, had long endeavour'd to per Iwade his Majesty to take that Course, as the only one to deliver himself, and ease them of Trouble. The Sy nod and the Parliament had writ to him in very prefing manner, the Army daily courted him to it; and he having declar'd, that the Matter of Religion was what lay heaviest upon him, and particularly his consenting to abolish Episcopacy, Ministers had been affign'd him to remove all Difficulties, and dispel those Scruples Conscience he profes'd he had on that account. The Ambassador coming at the Time, when they press hardest on him, and the Disputes were so far from perfwading, that they feem'd to have confirm'd him in his Opinion, because of the Weakness of those Reasons the Presbyterians alledg'd against those that learned Prince urg'd; Bellievre took his Part, and show'd the Great Ambassa- Men of Scotland, that instead of convincing they settled dor labours him; that they acted indifcreetly; that they tir'd him for Peace. out; that they fail'd in the Respect that was due to him; and that in that very Point they broke their Pro-

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mise made to Montrevit of giving the King his Liberty The Prefident follow'd this Course, 15 as to Religion.

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tong as he had any Hopes of bringing over the Scots to the King's fide; but when he perceiv'd his Endeavours were in vain, he chang'd Sides, and join'd with them in perfwading the King to satisfy his Parliament, particularly as to the Point of suppressing the Bishops; that Minister being of Opinion, that the Controversy, whether no Bishops, or salse ones, was not worth the hazarding of a Crown. The King was not of his Opinion, and God's Judgment lay so heavy upon that Prince, that the same Time he suffer'd the true Episcopacy of JESUS CHRIST to be banish'd, he became a Martyr to that extravagant Phantome rais'd by King Henry the 8th, or rather by Queen Elizabeth.

This, we may fay, was the only Point which decided Episcopacy the Fate of that unfortunate Prince. The Consequence the King's hew'd, that the granting of this might have obstructed Ruin. what follow'd. So the Countess of Carlisse afterwards writ to the Queen; and it was the general Notion, hat it would have been so; for that would have engag'd he Puritans of both Nations to make fresh Efforts to prevent his Destruction; whereas he refusing to grant that nain Article of their Demands, they had always one trong Link left to unite them with the Independants, otwithstanding their other Differences, and oblig'd hem, even against their own Inclinations, to act in

oncert with them.

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Whilst the Treaty went on at Newcastle, the Means Indepenvere contriving at London to break it off, the Indepen-dent Pracant Party being always jealous of its Effects. which purpose they contriv'd two Things; the first was he raising of 100000 Pounds for the first Payment of he Sum promis'd the Scots; the 2d, the caufing a Part t Fairfax's Army to advance towards Newcastle, under the Command of Major General Skippon, whilst Fairfax himelf led the rest of it the same Way by easy Marches. These two Methods succeeded. The Scots perceiv'd hey must soon come to some Resolution, and they as bon concluded which Side to comply with. persisted to refuse the abolishing of Episcopacy, and reurn'd no other Answer to the Articles sent him by the inglish; but that they hould permit him to go to Lonon, and he would fatisfy them, being fully perswaded, hat all Things would eafily be adjusted, were he restor'd o the Parliament, to retrieve that Affection Subjects

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naturally have for their Sovereign. The Scots Army held to their infamous Bargain with the English Parlia. ment, and whatfoever the French Ministers could fay to diffwade them, on pretence that the Time appointed for evacuating the Places they had taken, and returning into their own Country, was near expir'd, upon the receipt of the Money agreed on, they deliver'd up the unfortunate King to the Parliament Deputies, who conducted him under a strong Guard to Holmby, one of his carry'd to own Houses, whither he came at the beginning of the Year 1647.

French Minister clear d.

The King

Holmby. 1647.

That just Prince, before his Departure from Newcastle, was so good as to ease Montrevil of a great Trouble. The Treachery of the Scots was infenfibly retorted upon that Minister, because he had treated with them; and the least Reflection that could be made on him, was to look upon him as an indifcreet Man, who had drawn that Prince to a Precipice, where he was like to perish. His own Friends had acquainted him, that it would be expected he should clear himself as to that Point, at the This the King did in Writing, decla-Court of France. ring he was satisfy'd with Montrevil, who when he was Itill at Oxford had given him notice that the Sots were grown cold fince the Treaty with Murray; that he had signify'd to him, that notwithstanding the fair Promises they still made, he perceiv'd such an Indifferency in the Behaviour of some of them, as made him suspect their Intentions; and therefore he could give some Hopes, but not answer for any Safety. Thus his Majesty made it appear, that if he had in his Shipwreck laid hold of an ill Plank to fave himself, he had thought better to trust to that bad one, in hopes of gaining Time to find a better, than inevitably to fink all at once.

Cromwel's

The Scots had deliver'd up the King, not only upon Practices. Condition that his Life should be safe, but that he should be respectfully us'd, and speedy Means found to settle Peace between him and the two Nations. The Prebyterians, according to their Principles, were for performing what had been promis'd the Scots Army; and had that Bufine's depended on the Plurality of Votes, or the Parliament been absolute, the King would in Time have been fav'd, notwith standing all the Contrivances of Cromwel and his Independants to defroy him; but the English Army, which that Tyrant kept within

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Share in the Government. That Army was at the disposal of Cromwel and the Independents, and the more dreadful to the Presbyterians, in regard the Independents had dexterously, under colour of good Husbandry, by degrees disbanded the Forces that lay scatter'd bout in several Parts of the Kingdom, and particularly hose which were commanded by Puritan Officers. Thus Massey, Cook, and other zealous Presbyterians, had oft their Commissions, and their Soldiers were disniss'd.

The Parliament observing the new Pretentions of the Ordinance Army, confider'd of Means to obviate the ill Confequen-for difes, and put a Stop to the growing Evil in its Source; banding. nd after several Debates, resolv'd to break that Body, nly leaving so many about London as they could keep inder, to serve them upon Occasion; to disband one Part, and fend another into Ireland, where the Cathoicks continuing in Arms for the King, norwithstandng his contrary Orders, daily gain'd fresh Advantages; nd the rest under the Command of Fairfax to march hrough those Counties where any Disturbance was to e apprehended. This Resolution met with the less Opposition, in regard that Cromwel and his Party hought it a fure Means to make the Army mutiny, vithout any other visible Cause, but their hard Ulage, fter so much Service done; and to engage them to urn their Arms against the Parliament, which they hen thought it was Time to reduce more absolutely under their Disposal, than they had been before. Cromwel hid not only give his Vote for the passing of that Ordihance, but affur'd the Parliament of the Army's Compliance, and with his usual hypocritical Zeal, said, He would burn himself and all his Family to prevent any Mutiny.

Upon these positive Promises, the Parliament con The Army cluded they could not do better than to send Cronwelmutinies. himself to the Army, to put their Ordinance in execution. The Event shew'd that was lighting a Fire and quenching it with Oil. The Ordinance made the Soldiers mutiny, considering, that instead of being rewarded, they were most of them either disbanded, or expos'd to fresh Dangers in an odious War, and in a Country, where as many of the English perish'd by Sick-

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nels

ness, and want of Necessaries, as by the Enemie Swords. Cromwel and his Party, at first, made some show of opposing the Mutiny; Fairfax writ to the Parlin ment, assuring them he had no Hand in it; but the Farce lasted not long. The Soldiers underhand encou rag'd by those very Men, who made shew in publicke quelling them, foon put Things into such a Posture, a the Faction thought convenient to declare with then They had compos'd a Council of the boldest of the Fellows, whom they call'd Agitators, to take cared their Concerns, and those Cromwel and his Party knew well how to manage, in order to bring the Government

> into their own Hands. To that end the Usurper though it requifite first to gain the Sovereignty over the Parli ment, and to do this otherwise than by Artifice, being convinc'd by Experience, that they who gain it the way fall short in several most important Points. H

> also found it necessary to secure the King's Person, an that way he begun by.

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His Majesty was still at Holmby close confin'd, with out being allow'd any Persons to come near him, beside those that had been appointed to attend and guard him The King's They had been so unreasonable as to resuse him evenly

ill Usage. own Chaplains. There had been some Conference with him at first about Peace, or rather to perswade the People, that the concluding of it depended on him; the Conditions propos'd to him being always fuch, as the knew he would not confent to. However, his Answer being still in general Terms, That he would fatisfy hi Parliament when oever they would hear and carry his to Westminster to deliver his Reasons in publick; the were at a loss, and the Parliament and Army fallings variance, his Majesty had been neglected, and left his own melancholy Thoughts, which are the natura Product of such an unfortunate Condition. He hadim ploy'd himself in collecting and digesting them into Book we have before mention'd, call'd, Eikon Basilik or, The Portraiture of the King; where giving an Account of his Conduct, which had been variously judg'd of he discovers such a Mind, and such Notions, as will not allow of a double Meaning: Such is the Acutenels the Learning, the Morality, and the Piety, according to that Prince's Religion, which appears throughout that Work. ... dilynet

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From this Solitude and Imployment the King was 1647. hurry'd away, about the Beginning of June, and conducted to the Army, where Fairfax receiv'd him with The King Civility, and Cromwel with so much Respect, as might in the Armpose upon the most mistrustful Persons. He also en-my. leavour'd to comfort, and give him good Hopes, with everal Assurances that the Change of his Abode should

roduce a Change in his Fortune.

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The Tyrant having the King in possession, thought f fecuring the Parliament, and one thing made way or the other. The Parliament being inform'd of his fajesty's Removal, publish'd an Ordinance, for conlucting of him to Richmond, under the Guard of Coonel Rossiter, and for the same Officers to attend him hat had been imploy'd before. The Army was not Army inkely to obey the Commands of an Assembly it was fults the hen about pulling down, in order to rife upon its Ruin. Parliaairfax, who still preserv'd some Respect for the Par-ment. ament, as if all that had been done were carried on aainst his Will by the Agitators, excus'd himself for ot obeying the Ordinance, and at the same time, in he Name of the Army, fent up an Impeachment against leven Members of the House of Commons, viz. Hollis, Valler, Maynard, Lewis, Glin, Long, Harley, Nichols, apleton, Clotworthy, and Major General Massey, the ankest Presbyterians among the Commons. These vere requir'd to answer to the Charge laid against them y the Army, who at the same time accus'd the Parliahent of Avarice and Tyranny, requiring an Account of he Money that had pass'd through their Hands; that hey should be dissolv'd, and another call'd, it being ontrary to Law for them to be perpetual. These Demands and Proposals had a different Recep-

ion both at London and at Westminster. The eleven im-

peach'd Members declar'd they were ready to answer, and agreed they would forbear sitting in Parliament or six Months, till there could be leisure to try them. Those in the House that were of Cromwel's Party, never Enters the ail'd to second his Designs, to which the greater Num-City, and per were utter Strangers. The great Controversy for seizes the some time was between the Army and the City of Lon-Governton. Cromwel's Creatures prevail'd with the Parliament ment. to declare for the Army, and the Lieutenancy of the City was chang'd by Order of the two Houses. The City

being

being wholly averte to that Alteration, which much weakned it, went down in a tumultuous manner to the Parliament, and oblig'd them immediately to refettle the Lieutenancy as it was before. Hereupon, as foona the two Houses broke up, the Earl of Mancheste Speaker to the Lords, and Lenthal of the Common actended by 50 more of the Members, left La don, and withdrew to the Army, exclaiming that the Liberties of the Parliament had been invaded. In the mean while, those that remain'd at Westminster having chosen other Speakers, and combin'd with the Cin pass'd an Ordinance that the King should be brought London; that the eleven excluded Members should n turn to their Places, and that the City Militia should chuse a General to command the Forces to be then rais'd. Some were actually rais'd, and Massey appoints General; but that Army of Citizens only brav'd it il the Enemy drew near. As foon as Fairfax and Croms appear'd at the Head of theirs, and march'd toward London, after a disorderly and hasty Treaty, the Gatt were open'd, and all Men submitted. The Army ter'd in triumphant manner, and being Masters. mad use of their Power without any Modesty. They ha brought with them those Members of Parliament the withdrew to their Camp, and conducted them back State to their Houses at Westminster, and having expel all those they had any Jealousy of, compos'd a Parli ment of their own Creatures. The Tower being furred der'd to them, they put in a Governor and Garrison of their own. The Works about the City, and the M litia were so order'd, as to give them no Disturbance The Fleet was put into fuch Hands as they could con fide in. Thus all Things were brought under the Inde pendant Party, who now wanted nothing to establish their Sovereignty, but the Destruction of him, who notwithstanding his being a Prisoner, still held the Character, which gives a Right to Government in fettled Monarchy.

As much as their Affairs were advanc'd, Cromwel was too clear-fighted not to perceive, there was still much Difficulty to bring them to Perfection. Yet so far was the from being dejected, that he resolv'd to use the world Diligence, and all the Villanies he knew himsel

capable of, rather than fail.

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Cromwel.

The returning Affection of the People for their law- 1647. Sovereign, upon the fight of the Indignities his emies put upon him, and their Defire to reffore him, Cromd with him the Peace of the Nation, then seem'd to well's vilthe greatest Obstacles to the Parricide the Monster lainous s contriving. To remove them, he resolv'd by his Artifices. tifices to revive the publick Malice against that nce, representing him as a Man not to be gain'd by good Offices, inflexible in his Resolutions, and pove in rejecting all Methods propos'd to him for dispog things to Peace. The Generals having to this pure march'd the Army out of London, and fent it to amp about Hampton-Court, the King, who had been The King during the City Expedition at a House in Bedford at Hamp-, was conducted to that Royal Palace, where Crom-ton-Court s Artifice produc'd a new Scene, which put all Euin hopes that there would be very foon a strange rn in the King of England's Fortune. He look'd no ger like a Prisoner, but like a great King attended by umerous and officious Court. He law his Children, vers'd with his Friends, had the Liberty of writing the Queen, and receiving her Answers. All Men d their Respects to him, and none did it with more ward Formality, or express'd more Zeal for his Sere, or a more earnest Defire to remove all Obstacles t stood in his way to his Reinstalment, than the art-

n the mean while the Parliament being wholly deted to the prevailing Faction, continu'd to make fuch pposals as they knew the King could not grant, withunkinging himself; and that Prince having always clar'd his Conscience would not permit him to abolish ilcopacy, which he look'd upon to be of Divine Inftiion, they never fail'd to put that home to him, withthe least Qualification. And to make the more fure his Opposition, Cromwel, who always acted two rts, diffwaded him at Hampton-Court from confenting the Proposals he contriv'd should be sent him from sminster, putting him in hopes that the Army, which ong other deceitful Allurements to infnare him, had de other Proposals that seem'd nor altogether so inerable, would at last offer fuch as should be agreeable his Conscience and Honour.

The King's Positiveness in refusing to sign those Par

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tiulars that were tender'd to him, and in demanding Application personal Treaty, that he might be heard in Parliament on for bim rais'd Clamours against him, as a Man obstinate in hi to the Par-own Sentiments, and contributing nothing to Peace but these Reports were too well known in general make any great Impression on those that were not able lutely devoted to the Independent Party. Almosta the rest of England, Scotland, the Neighbouring Nat ons, and, in a Word, all those who look'd on with an thing of Justice, exclaim'd against those Proceeding and tho' in a fearful and lowly way, made Cromwel and his Party sensible, that the Publick was not at all di pos'd to approve of their Parricide, but that if perhaps could be brought about, that mighty Number of Pa ple who abhorr'd the Villany, might join together obstruct the perpetrating of it, or to punish the Attem For on the one Hand the People were provok'd at the ill Usage of the King, and did not mutter so low, h that their Complaints reach'd the Ears of those the were the Occasion of it; and on the other, the Scott king a more just Method of Proceeding than they ha done, declar'd to the Parliament, that their Nation w furpriz'd they should perfist to refuse the Kinga Person Treaty, and to admit to give the Reasons for what he had done, in an Affembly instituted to be his Suprem Council. Besides, the Factious Party were jealous all that came from France, and not without Realm Notwithstanding Cardinal Mazarine took care to remon thole Fears, to prevent the Parliament's entering in an Alliance with Spain, which then courted them to it yet their Jealousies were daily renew'd by the Queen frequent Messages, by Montrevill's Intreagues in Son land, in behalf of the confin'd King, and the good Of ces of Bellievre, who then came back again, but could not manage Affairs so dextrously, notwithstanding the Prime Minister's Instructions, and his own Cautious ness, as not to be look'd upon as a Favourer of the King, and to have his Nation judg'd of by his Inclinate The Generality of the People in France made it ap pear by their common Discourses, that the Cardinals Dexterity in managing the Rebellious English was the Effect of an Italian Policy, which the French Nation di not approve of. There were Commotions already in

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me Counties. The Presbyterians were not suppress'd, 1647.

Intstill the greater Number. Even that Army, which we the Independants so much Advantage over them, as not altogether unanimous. The Agitators could be endure that Cromwel and his Creatures should thrust semselves into the Government, in which they pretended to have a Share. They were Enemies to Monarchy, and absolute Republicans, and already perceived that somwel and his Adherents only pretended to be so, in der to get all the Sovereignty into their own Hands, any of the Soldiers and Officers of the Army were we so used to make their Court and see the King, as ang as it was permitted them, that it was observed they ere well inclined towards him.

Cromwel perceiv'd these Things and prevented the Designs to onsequences. Here the Loyal Historians affign him a defame the ece of Policy, which they do not well make out, nor King. hit eafily be done. They pretend, that in order to enate the Minds of the People from their Sovereign, a Man averse to Peace; to incense the Army against m, as a Prince that did not keep his Word, they hang made him promite not to depart Hampton Court thout their Consent; and to render him Blamele and Contemptible among Strangers, as if he d been of an unconstant Temper, that would conide nothing; Cromwel had underhand put him in ar of a Defign to murder him, that so he might atmpt an Escape, and by such Means as do not appear us, caus'd him to be conducted to the Isle of Wight, here the Governor, purposely appointed by that Re-I to ferve his Turn, feiz'd that unfortunate Prince, d became one of the principal Actors in that Conspicy, which brought him to his End. There are two hings in this Account which puzzle me; The first is, hat those Persons the King made use of in his Escape, ho had Hories ready for him, when having cross'd e River from Hampton Court, were Berkley, Leg, and bburnham, Men wholly in the Interest of their Mar, and never accus'd of having betray'd him; The her, That the King's first Defignwas to go to London, d being disswaded from it, he sought for a Ship togo er to Guernsey, and meeting with none, Necessity mpell'd him to take Sanctuary in the Isle of Wight, hether Chance, and no Choice seem to have conducted

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him. Ileavethis Point to be clear'd by those who has better Information than my felf, to follow those w more plainly tell us, That Cromwel and his Party pe ceiving the Difficulty of having the King condemn'd publick Consent, to increase, and fearing to be the felvesat last condemn'd by the People, resolv'd to mi To mur-away with him, whilst they had the Power in the

der bim.

Hands to reap the Advantage of their Parricide; the their Secret taking Wind, the King had notice of from his Friends, who press'd him to make his Escan that he was against it at first, not to break the Word had given the Army, that he would not depart Hampa Court; but being over-perswaded that his Promise not bind him in fuch eminent Danger, as that whi threatned him, he consented to fly, and finding no on He flies to Place of Retreat, took into the Isle of Wight, wherei

Wight.

the Isle of Traitor Hammond detain'd him, sending to acqui the Parliament, then in pain for his Escape, that was fallen into his Hands. Some fay, that at the fa Time Cromwel was contriving the King's Death, treated with him about an Accommodation, by the terposition of Barclay. It will be no easy Matter History to decide, whom he intended to impose on. private Opinion is, that he finding it fafer and more table to his Ambition to destroy the King, defignd amuse him by a Treaty, which in case of any Dia pointment might have been a Shift to fave him from general Calamity, had the Storm then rifing against Party funk it. Whatfoever End that artful Villain pos'd to himself in the Treaty, he knew how to m a great Advantage of it towards decrying the Kin Conduct among those who had been let into the cret of that Treaty; and manag'd it so well, the even in France it was believ'd the King had decen The Account given of this Matter by Siri, w took it from Memoirs no way favourable to that Prin shows what the Minister thought of it.

The fame that Cromwel did underhand to call in que stion his Majesty's Sincerity and good Intentions on count of his Escape, was done openly by his Party; yet without much Success. That Prince, before Departure from Hampton Court, had left a Note und his own Hand, on a Table, importing, that the' held from the Wicked Defigns of his Enemies, he shun'd

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Treton's

Speech.

e Opportunity of giving Peace to his People, but ould joyfully embrace any that was offer'd him, and eall Endeavours to advance it; that he only defir'd to heard in his Parliament, and explain himself there, convince all the Nation that he was not unworthy of e Name of, Father of his Country.

This Note, and a Letter his Majesty writ from the e of Wight, after Hammond had receiv'd Orders from e Parliament to secure him there, reviv'd the Murers of the People, and the Instances of the Scots, to obe the Parliament to confent to a Personal Treaty. So. neftly were they follicited, that the Cabal thought it fafe to refuse them. However, in order to elude it. a fatal Stroke to the Party, they concluded to ofthe King Four Preliminary Articles, which they ew he would not confent to, and after that they faid, should be allow'd to repair to London in Person, and treat with his Parliament. The Articles were, that should yield up the Disposal of the Militia to that Afbbly; that he should recall all Proclamations fet out him against those who had been in Rebellion; that should exclude all those Peers he had created fince the rying away of the Great-Seal, from fitting among Lords; and that he should allow the Parliament to tinue in the fame manner, as long as they should nk fit.

The Score Deputies having seen these Preliminaries, Scots Proforr'd them, not only as a Hardship, but as an Arti-test. invented to overthrow Monarchy. They protested

inst it, and publish'd their Protest.
The King was at Carisbrook, a strong Castle in the Treaty at cof Wight, when those Articles were brought him, a the life of it the latter end of December, by the Earl of Denbigh, Wight.

other Deputies of the Parliament. It is easy to essat the Answer. The Cabal concluded it would be

the Negative, and hop'd to make a mighty Advane of it, towards drawing over of the People to their ty, thinking to delude them by that Offer they made the King; but soon perceiv'd, that no Man could be pos'd upon by so gross an Artifice; that the Prince as much lamented as before; that the Murterings anot those Tyrants continu'd; that the Nation was e for Commotion; and that they only waited a fatrable Opportunity to declare in several Places. Be-

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1647.

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ing refolv'd to prevent that Stroke by a bold Execution of the Villany they defign'd, they took all Precaution their Forefight could suggest against the Practices of the Scots, the Commotions in London, and the Attempts of the Royalists. They order'd Hammond to confine the King closer at Carisbrook, to remove his Friends and Servants from him; they caus'd the Isle of Wight to be firstly guarded, sending Rainsborough that way with fome Ships. Thus they quell'dall the Commotions their Army, for some time quieted the restless Temper of the Agitators, and dispos'd all Men to proceed agree ably to the Will of the Generals. They also fent of Members of Parliament, they did not thoroughly con fide in, into their several Counties, upon fundry Com missions. After which, the Earl of Denbigh, and the other Deputies returning, the two Houses met at h beginning of the Year, 1648. and the King's Answerk ing read, Cromwel and his Party took off the Maski the House of Commons; where Ireton speaking firm faid, The Patience of the Highest Court in England been too long abus'd. The King by his Refusals plain hows he will have no Peace with us; that he has devote his People to all the Calamities of a War we are not like to the End of: In a Word, that he has not the Heart of King towards his Subjects. Nature and the Law of Nat ons teach us what is our Right upon the like Occasions. I Contract between Kings and their Subjects contains a mun al Ingagement, in the People to obey their Kings, and the Kings to protect their People; our King ceases to protect or look upon us as his Subjects, and consequently we are charg'd from the Duty and Fealty we were oblig'd to by mutual Contract made between our Fore-fathers and Ancestors. The Eyes of all Europe are upon us, to see what

Resolution so many wife Men will at last come to, in an A

fair which concerns the Welfare of the Nation. It lies

you to take fuch a one as you shall think most agreeable

your Zeal and the Publick Good. You have an Army, who

past Services give Sufficient Assurance of what you are

expect for the future; rely upon it, they will stand by the

Affembly. I am directed to assure you of their Fidelity, and

1648.

Ireton's Speech.

Cromwel's Speech. make no Difficulty to stand bound for it. Cromwel spots after his Son-in-law, and only enlarg'd upon what had said, urging, That nothing more was to be expected from a Prince whom God had hard'ned; that it

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vas a Comfort, the Parliament had sufficient Authoity to manage the Government; that they should not vant for Power, an Army so often Victorious being reolv'd to support such a Form of Government as they hould establish, at the Expence not only of the Soldiers, out of the General's Blood; that they ought to take are not to engage so many brave Men in such a dangeous Cause, in order at last to leave them expos'd to the Vengeance of the Common Enemy; that their Safety nd the People's Happiness depended on the Unanimity f those two Bodies; that Division would prove their Destruction; that there must be some Compliance with he rough Temper of the Soldiery, and even a preenting of those violent Courses they might be inclin'd o, in case they should suspect there was any Design of n Accommodation, which would deliver them from he Scruple of disappointing those who were not true o themselves. One Wroth is said to have had the Impulence to add, that the King ought to be confin'd to lome nland Strong Hold, to end his Days in Prison; that the Parliament should govern the Nation; and, in short, it natter'd little what fort of Government they appoined, provided Kings and Devils had no more to do with it.

As Powerful as Cromwel and his Party were in the House, it was long before the entire abjuring of the King could find a sufficient Number of Votes to pass. Those who propos'd it were fain to give Assurance, that there should be no farther Proceedings against that Prince. Upon that Promise it pass'd, and the House made an Ordinance, containing these four Articles, That there should be no more Addresses from the Par-votes of liament to the King; that no Person should apply to Non-Addresses, or Letters from him; and that whosever should transgress any of these Particulars, should suffer as in Cases of High Treason.

The Lords made more Difficulty of passing those The Lords Votes, than the Commons. Most of the Peers plainly see their perceived, that as things were managed, their Privileges Ruins must fall with the Monarchy, that as soon as there was no King there would be no more Nobility; that all Ranks would be made equal, and that those who had pulled down the Sovereign would easily overthrow the

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Inferiors. It was also privately reported, that the Cabal'defign'd to suppress the House of Lords, and confound both Houses together. Self-interest made the Lords strongly oppose the Ordinance for abjuring the King, which they would not have pass'd, had not some Troops been march'd up and quarter'd at St. James's and White Then many, following the Example of the Earls of Northumberland, Manchester, Warnick, and Ragland withdrew, entring their Protest against that extravagant Ordinance; but those who remain'd pass'd it, and were complimented by the Army; and Fairfax affur'd them it was a falle Report spread abroad by their Ene. mies, that either he, or his Friends, intended to suppress the Upper House.

Whilst these Advances were openly made towards Cromlany.

wel's Vil-destroying of the King, Cromwel and his Party in private Companies omitted nothing that might ruin his Reputation, and render him odious to the People. That falls Man, making use of that fingular Talent of Hypocrify he had to impose on the Ignorant, sometimes pretended to Inspiration, and would be thought to have Ur ders from Heaven, for committing those Villanies which drew Vengeance on the Earth. He was heard to fay, That being one Day full of Zeal for restoring of the King, he would have fought the Lord for his Affistance in an Affair of fo much Difficulty, but that when he would have pray'd, his Speech fail'd him, which he look'd upon as a Token that God had cast off his Majesty, and would have him Reign no longer.

Amg.

That nothing might be omitted which could conduct againfithe to the Destruction of that Prince, the Cabal fet out a printed Declaration against him, in the Name of the Parliament of England, wherein they had carefully rak'd togetherall the most injurious Calumnies that Malice could invent; for looking back through the whole Course of his Life, they began by infinuating a Suspicion, as if he had been guilty of murdering King James, his Father, and of affifting King Lewis the 13th of France, to take Rochel from the Protestants. By this Beginning, every Man may guess what the rest was; the Faction expected great Matters from it, but all their Cunning fail'd them in this Point; the Answer publish'd, and a Declaration fet out by the King himfelf, directed to the People, wherein, after giving an Account of his Conducts

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luct, he pathetically express'd the Condition he was 1648.
educ'd to, caus'd an almost general Indignation aainst those Tyrants, and as many as durit made it

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That Antimonarchical Cabal never flood upon more Efforts for cklish Ground, and the nearer the Spring drew on, the King. he more the Danger it was in, of falling under the Veight of the Preparations made to pull it down, apear'd. Within less than three Months all England was o in Arms for the Juster Side. At the Beginning of bril, the Apprentices, and Multitude in London, cry'd, od fave the King, and rais'd fuch a Commotion, that e Lord-Mayor was forc'd to withdraw into the Tower. May the People of Surrey flock'd together, proceedin a Tumultuous Manner to Westminster, and prehteda Petition to the Parliament, the Purport wherewas, That the King should be restor'd; that the Perhal Treaty he demanded should be immediately grand; and that the Army should be disbanded. me Time, several Commanders having gather'd Fors underhand, either took the Field, or shut themves up in Strong Holds they had forc'd, or furpriz'd, There were lome d declar'd for the Captive King. all Parts, and almost in every County: Wade in Sufk, and Goring in Cornwal, had many Followers and iends. Langhorn, Poyer and Powel, had a Body of 00 Men in Wales, and Pembroke Castle. The Ken-Men had no less Forces in their County, which Arwas the more Formidable, because headed by most en of Note in those Parts, having Maidston there; Colchefter in Effex for Places of Retreat. In the eart of the Kingdom, towards Keynton, the Earl of land, Brother to the Earl of Warwick, formerly's alous Parliamentarian, and one of the flrong Suprts of the Party; the Young Duke of Buckingham and Brother had gather'd 500 Horfe, and daily expected be reinfore'd. Another Body was poffes'd of Pom-, and kept the Country about in awe. Glenbam had priz'd Carliste, and Langdel posses'd himself of Berck, being both ready to joyn the Scors, that were rching towards them. In Short, after long Debates The Scott the Parliament of Scotland, between the Paction of enter En gyle, which was Antimonarchical, and that of Hamil gland. , who pretended even to Death a great Zeal for the

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King,

The History of the Revolutions in England, 116

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King, which no Man could ever be perswaded to believe 1648. the Scots advanc'd under the Command of that Duke and enter'd England, where their Declarations had be fore made known their Approach, and the Reasons the had for fo doing. Whilit all Things were in this Fe ment a Shore, another Storm broke out at Sea, which it was generally thought would have funk the Faction When it was least expected, Eight of Rainsborough Ships refus'd to obey his Orders, publickly declaring they would for the future receive none but from the Prince of Wales. That Prince was then in Holland, with his Brother, the Duke of York, which last, difguis'd Woman's A pparel, had made his Escape from the Es of Northumberland, or rather from the Tyranny

Ships go Prince.

to declare he had us'd him well. The Ships above-me over to the tion'd fail'd over to the Prince in Holland, where bei joyn'd by some others, they compos'd a Squadron 20 Sail, and made for the River of Thames.

Oliver Cromwel, for the Duke did that Earl the Julia

The King's Parties oppress'd.

Had the Faction proceeded in a less Regular Ma ner, in their Vigorous Methods for opposing so ma Enemies, their Resolution might have been look'du on as the Despair of Rebels, who being past Hopes Pardon, thought their Safety confisted in expedit none. Their Actions were too well concerted, not discover that he who influenc'd them took such Measur as were dictated by true Courage, and not by the blin ness of Despair. He had the entire Disposal of the my, and much more of him that commanded it; made use of it at first to quell the Londoners, and rey Mutiniers, by inflicting fuch Punishments, using Precautions that had the intended Effect; and which dividing the Army into small Parties, he sentthe to those Parts where the Royalists were weakest. In fax, Lambert, and he commanded the rest, every marching a several Way; Fairfax Southward, Lamb into the North, and Cromwel into Wales. The Comm tions in Suffolk and Cornwal were foon suppress'd. Wa and Waller were too weak to hold out long. Language was much more Formidable, as having a tolerable Am in a Country always well affected to the King; how ever Horton defeated him, with scarce above 3000 Me detatch'd from the Rebel's Army, so great is the Dim rence between Veteran Troops us'd to Discipline

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e an Fin tire, and those which are rais'd in a hurry, and led to the clion in confusion. 3000 Prisoners made their Victor remarkable. Langhorn and Powel made their Escape Pembroke, which Poyer kept for them. They thought nemselves safe there, when Cromwel appear'd, who hang follow'd close after Horton, besieg'd them in that lace. That dreadful Name did not at all discourage tem: Being sully perswaded that the stopping of that eneral would be as good as a Victory, in regard that the Faction had so much Business on their Hands elsewhere, they resolv'd to stand out, and defended them-lives long enough to have weary'd out any other Man little us'd to be bassled as Cromwal.

During the time of that Siege, the Kentish Men ran Colchemost the same Fortune as the Welsh. Fairfax routed ster besignment Maidstone, and drove Goring, a famous Cava-ged. er, who had gather'd some Troops, into the County Essex, where tho' join'd by the Lord Capel, Sir Charles ucas, Sir George Liste, the Earl of Huntingdon, and hers, the General of the Rebels forc'd them to shut

lemselves up in Colchester, which he besieg'd, and lay fore it a long time, as Cromwel did at Pembroke.

This Delay drew the Faction into greater Danger an that their Victories had began to rescue them from. he Heads of that bloody Crew, which aim'd at the ing's Life, were abroad with the Army, and as Matrs then stood, his Majesty had just Grounds to hope, at they would be long taken up with fuch Bufiness as rey could not leave unfinish'd. Upon this Notion seve-Il Persons, whom only Fear with-held from opposing he Independant Party, perceiving this Opportunity of paking off the Yoke, resolv'd to make use of it. The ing's faithful Servants, the Presbyterians, and most Votes for a the Peers, who, notwithstanding Fairfax's Assuran-Treaty es, foresaw their own Downfal under a Popular Go-with the ernment, conspir'd together to carry on this Defign. King. Vith them join'd the City of London, tir'd with the Var, and the Infolency of the Army, as also most of he Commons, who were not link'd with the Indepenants, either by Doctrine, or Dependance on Cromwel, ra Republican Spirit. Thus in spight of those three rts of Men, and their considerable Number in the ower House, the better Part of the Parliament, reail'd upon by their own Interest, or the Perswasions,

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of those above-mention'd, resolv'd to recall the Members of the Lower House that had been expell'd by the Army, to enter again upon a Treaty with the King; to revoke the Ordinance for Non-Addresses; and to confent to his Defire of a personal Treaty. It was proposid to bring him to London; but the Cromwellians warded of that Blow, and it was concluded, that Deputies from both Houses should be sent to the life of Wight to treat The Choice of the Place was left to him with him. Carisbrooke being an improper Confinement to negotiate Peace in, he pitch'd upon Newport, and went thithe with a confiderable Train, the Parliament having gi yen Leave to his Servants and Attendance to return to him.

The Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, Man The Treaty at New-chester, and Middlesex, and Viscount Say, Deputies for the Upper House, repairing to Newport, with Te port. from the Lower, the Conferences began there about the latter End of September. The Parliament being the influenc'd by the Spirit of Presbytery, which was ton fore him to the Title, without any Authority, the De puties laid before him no other Conditions to fign, but the last he had rejected, being the most unreasonable they had ever put to him, as the Reader may judg by the Heads of them I here infert.

The Parliament urging the Necessity they had been Parliament's un- under of taking up Arms in their own Defence, as the reasonable Ground of their Pretentions, demanded of the King Demand. 1. That he should make void all Proclamations, Or

ders, or Declarations made on that account against the two Houses, and those who had espous'd their Quarrel 2. That he should entirely suppress Episcopacy, and fell the Bishops Lands; abolish the Liturgy, and confirm the Directory; establish the Presbyterian Government in Churches, fign the League and Covenant, and oblige his Subjects to fign it; curb the Catholicks, and cault their Children to be brought up Protestants; order certain Oaths against the Pope, the Encharist, Images and Purgatory, to discover such as were of the Roman Faith, and obstruct the faying of Mass in any Part of the Kingdom. 3. That he should yield up to the Parliament the Disposal of the Militia, with full Liberty to use it as they thought fit, to raise Subfidies for the Maintenance of it, wherein the King nor his Successor fhould

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hould have no Hand, for the Term of 20 Years; after hich it should be lawful for the said Parliament to raise rmies, set out Fleets, impose Taxes for the Support of bem, and that even in case the Prince should refuse to onsent to it. 4. That he should make voidall Treaties included with the Catholicks of Ireland, leave the lanagement of that War wholly to the Parliament, d discard the Lord Lieutenant, the Chancellor or eeper of the Great Seal, and all other Officers put into laces fince the first Truce, their Imployments to be I'd by the Parliament. 5. That the Parliament should empower'd for the future to raise Taxes for the pubk Service, as they should think fit. 6. That all itles of Honour conferr'd by his Majesty, fince the ear 1642. should be suppress'd, and that for the future ch Persons as had any conferr'd on them should not be ow'd to fit among the Peers, without the Consent of th Houses. 7. That all those who had fided with the ng should be punish'd according to the Degree of Aftion they had shew'd for his Interest; and particuly that no Pardon should ever be granted to the two latine Princes, the Marquis of Newcastle, the Earl of istol, George Digby, Jermin, Goring, Hopton, Biron, ingdale, Hyde, who was afterwards Earl of Clarendon, ord Chancellor, and Father-in-law to the Duke of rk, the Marquis of Winchester, and all Catholicks no had ferv'd their Prince. I have fet down these ames out of a greater Number, as being the Persons off remarkable in this History, and best known in the buntry where I write. 8. That all confiderable Plas in the Kingdom should be bestow'd by the Parliaent for the Term of 20 Years. 9. That a new Great al, made by Order of the two Houses, should be acowledg'd the true Great Seal of England. 10. That e Charter and Liberties of London should be ratify'd er again. 11. That the Court of Wards, and all Plas depending on it, should be suppress'd.

There was so little likelihood of the King's consent-TheKing's g to such Proposals, from any Part whereof the Com-Condescentissioners had no Power to recede, that as soon as they tions are made publick, those who wish'd for Peace, lost all opes of it, and those that were against it ceas'd to fears: to both were in some measure mistaken. The King

elding to his ill Fortune, and flattering himself that

1648.

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better Times might restore those Flowers to the Crown which he suffer'd to be torn from it, resolv'd to grant those Demands ne had so often in vain endeavour'du lessen. After many learned Speeches and frequent Con ferences, wherein he did not observe that he spent to much of his Time, which was then fo precious, he pass'd Nine of the Parliament's Proposals, without any Alteration. In the 2d concerning the abolishing of Epil copacy, he confented that the Arch-Bishops should be quite laid afide, and the Bishops depriv'd of all Juristi ction as to Church Government, but not as to conferring of Orders; nay, he condescended so far, as that the should not exercise even that Function, till a Synod affembled by the Parliament had been held, wherein there should be 20 Divines of his own Nomination, promifing to fubmit to whatfoever should be there resolved Neither would he have the Bishops Lands fold, but con fented, that after allowing those in whose Possession the were fomething to subfift on, they should be made legal Estates for Lives or for Years, not exceeding 99, at the old, or some more moderate Rent, after which they should return to the Crown. The 7th Article, concerning those who had ferv'd him, whom they would have facrific'd to the Malice of the Parliament, was that which occasion'd the greatest Difficulty to temperith as to preserve his Friends, and not to break with the Commissioners: However he manag'd it so, that both Sides feem'd to be fatisfy'd, allowing those who had ferv'd him to be proceeded against, but upon such Con ditions as fecur'd their Lives, without quite ruining their

MoreInfo-

An Accident somewhat disturb'd the peaceable Progress of those Conferences. The Parliament just at this time had been inform'd, that the Marquis of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, had receiv'd Orders to come to an Agreement with the Catholick Party, and join them, in order to relieve the King. It was a Capital Crime in that Prince, always insulted, imprison'd, and continually in danger of his Life, to seek Reliefagainst his Persecutors. Some Letters he had writ, not only to Kings his Allies, to crave their Assistance, but to the Queen his Wife, and the Princes his Sons, being intercepted, were publish'd as Attempts to disturb the publick Peace. The Order given to the Marquis

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quis of Ormand had almost the same Effect; however Order should be revok'd, which the King promis'd to

Peace being intended, they were fatisfy'd that the faid do when all was concluded.

That Conclusion then seem'd to be out of dispute, Successesof and nothing but that Prince's ill Fate could obstruct it. the Rebels. Nothing was wanting but Time, which had been wasted, as is usual in all Treaties, upon Preliminaries, and needless Debates; but the worst was, that the Factious Party had spent too little in putting an end to the troublesome War, that broke out on every side of them. That Summer afforded the Heads of the disaffected Party To many Advantages and Victories, that the' Cromwel was kept at the Siege of Pembroke till July, and Fairfax t that of Colchester till September, yet the War was concluded before the Winter came on. The Earl of Holland and the Duke of Buckingham had been defeated at King ston, and at St. Neots, by two Colonels detach'd from Fairfax's Army. The Earl was taken; the Duke, after losing the Lord Francis, one of his Brothers, narrowly escap'd. Rossiter had dispos'd Pomfret towards a Surrender, by an Action, wherein he kill'd many of the Defendants. The Earl of Warwick, sent to command as much of the Navy as remain'd under the Rebels, had disappointed all the Designs of the Prince of Wales. Cromwel having reduc'd Pembroke, and made all that defended it Prisoners, had hasted into the North, to fuccour Lambert, who had to do with Duke Hamilton and 20000 Scots, besides Langdale and Glenham with a confiderable Body of English Royalists, the one being Master of Carlifle, and the other of Berwick.

Cromwel and Lambert had scarce 10000 Men between Scots dethem; the Conduct of those two Commanders, and feated. the Goodness of their Troops, made amends for the Smalness of the Number. Meeting with Duke Hamilton and Langdale near Preston, they fought and routed them. The two Generals got off with fufficient Forces to make head against the Conquerors, who were difpers'd in pursuit of those that fled; but so great was their Consternation, that they were every where overtaken and defeated. Duke Hamilton and Langdale were among the Prisoners, the Number of whom amounted to about 9000, whereof many were Persons of Qua-

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1648: in Scotland.

Whilst several Commanders, with the several Bodies under them, pursu'd the Remains of the scatter'd Ar. Cromwelmy, Cromwel tofing no Time, was march'd into Scot. land, where the Earl of Lanerick, Brother to Duke Hamilton, and Monro, had some Forces, which kept the Marquis of Argyle and his Party in awe. He had by the way taken Carlisle and Berwick, and advanc'd to Edin. borough, where he was by some receiv'd as a Friend, by others as a Conqueror, but by all as absolute Master; fome submitting through Good-will, and others by Compulsion. There the League was renew'd between the two Kingdoms, and Cromwel receiv'd the Title of Conservator of Scotland.

There it was those violent Measures were taken,

During this Expedition, Colchester at length furrenflertaken, der'd to Fairfax, who having taken it at Discretion, had shot Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lifle, and securd the Earl of Huntington, Capel, and Goring; after which he had been to visit some Places he thought fit to show himself in, and was gone to incamp at London, where his Army increas'd by the Accession of such Forces belong. ing to the Faction, as had soonest dispers'd their Enemies.

strance.

my's Pra- which broke off the Treaty between the King and Par-Hices and liament, and render'd the Event so fatal to that Prince. Ireton, Son-in-law to Cromwel, and so like his Fatherin-law, manag'd that Affair, pursuant to the Instructions he receiv'd, and brought it about. At first he made use of Artifice. Whilst he and Fairfax, a Tool eafy to be manag'd by any Man that understood his Weakness, seem'd peaceably to wait the Issue of the Conferences, he underhand, by his Emissaries, among whom Parlon Hugh Peters exerted his Talent for Villany, fometimes incited one Regiment in the Army, sometimes a Country Corporation, and sometimes a Cabal of Officers, to petition the Parliament against the Treaty, and demand that all Persons who should be convicted of having occasion'd the late Troubles, might be punish'd without any Exception. This Scene lasted some time, but being thought too gentle, and the Parliament, which was for Peace, still going on their own way, without taking notice of them, the Actors, fearing they might commit the same Fault that Affembly had been guilty of, which was losing their Time in useless Dispositions, took off their Mask, and

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1648.

tracking both the King and Parliament at once, ublish'd the most infamous Libel that had yet been een, under the Title of a Remonstrance from the Army and People of England to the two Houses: Wherein, frer complaining of the Treaty in the Isle of Wight, a railing at the King, they demanded, that he should e punish'd, as guilty of all the Blood shed in the late lars; that certain Members of Parliament by them m'd should be prosecuted; that the Revenues of the rown and Church should be apply'd to pay the Army; nat then the Parliament should be dissolved, and that a lumber of Representatives of the People should be appointed to manage the Government for the future.

The Vileness of these Proposals, and the Indignation They seize inceiv'd against them, put the Parliament into such a the King. Imper of Resolution, as they had never before been unless it were against the King. Excepting those at were of the Faction, all the rest detested, and reliv'd not to regard them. Thus the Treaty was conticued, for the finishing whereof nothing was wanting ut a Declaration of the two Houses, that the King's

oncessions were satisfactory. But Fairfax now grown to bolder, because Cromwel was come up, laying aside I Formalities, march'd 10000 Men into the City, at the me time that another Body went to remove the King om Newport, first to Hurst-Castle, and then soon after Windsor. The Commissioners were still in Conference

ith his Majesty, when they came to tell him he must emove. This Change surprized him not so much as it id those Commissioners. He heard the Message with the Resolution as moved their Compassion, and more

specially, when taking his Leave of them, he said, believe we shall see one another no more, God's Will be King's one. I have made my Peace with him, and expect all that Words. Ian can do to me with Resignation. You now see you are

lan can do to me with Resignation. You now see you are volv'd in my Ruin. I wish you better Friends than I have und. I am no Stranger to what is practized against me ad mine; but all that troubles me not so much as the

vils that threaten my People, through the unbounded Amition of those who seek to raise themselves under colour of the publick Good.

Having spoke these Words, he left the Isle of Wight, Members draw nearer by degrees to the Stage, on which his of Paramemies, at the beginning of the ensuing Year, de liament fign'd turn'd out.

124 The History of the Revolutions in England,

fign'd to shew the World the most tragical Cata-Afrophe that ever the Sun beheld. The lait Measures for concerting it were the turning out of the Parliament all those whose Consciences they mistrusted. Notwith. standing the Army's Approach, whose General took up his Quarters at Whitchall, and the Presence of Cromuel, who went to the House of Commons to support his Party, the Parliament had declar'd the King's Answers satisfactory, and sufficient Grounds for Peace. That Refo. lution cost those who were suspected to be Leaders in it The Army having fecur'd the Doors of both Houses, turn'd out 150 of the Members, whom they forc'd away, and committed 41 to Goal. Then Cromud and his Faction once again were absolute Masters in that House, which tho' the Lower, had so entirely engross all the Authority, that the Upper was not at all regarded. Thus 40 Villains, most of them the very Scun of the Nation, became the supreme Governors of English land, who made void all that the two Houses had been fome Months doing towards a Peace; declar'd the King guilty of High Treason, as having occasion'd the shed ding all the Blood in the late Wars; and because the

Lerds vo- House of Lords would not consent to that Vote, the teduseless. Commons declar'd, That the Power of making Law was in them alone, and there needed not any Concurrence of the Lords, the Sovereign Power being original.

nally in the People.

It had been expected that House should sit upon the monstrous Trial they were going to bring on; but it was their good Fortune that Cromwel had not quite so ill an Opinion of them, as to trust that Villainy in their Hands. Whatsoever Care he had taken to remove all those he was jealous of, still he perceived some Tokens of an uneasy Conscience at the sight of such a Crime, in several of those that still remained. He had occasion for more resolute Hands, to sacrifice a Head that work three Crowns, to his Ambition. Being throughly acquainted with wicked Men, he made choice of 150,

High Court quainted with wicked Men, he made choice of 150, of Justice. Some of whom however shun'd sitting upon that Commission, and Fairfax was one of the Number. Cromus was not so bashful, no more than Ireton his Son-in-law.

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Under the Family of the Stuarts, &c.

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ment. The Villain Bradshaw was appointed President, 1648.
Dorislaus, a German Doctor, his Assessor, and Cook So-

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The News of this new erected Court being spread Efforts to throughout the City, foon diffus'd it felf over the Na Save the tion, and into foreign Countries. All Men gave the King. King for loft; and yet those that lov'd him did not omit to make their utmost Efforts to fave him. No way being left but Prayers and Remonstrances, most of the Ministers in their Sermons, and several printed Papers, declar'd what a horrid Crime it was for Subjects to imbrue their Hands in the Blood of their Sovereign. The Scots fent Commissioners in great haste to protest against that Parricide. The States General order'd their Ampassador to represent that such an Action would be an ndelible Reproach upon the Reformation. The Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of Lindsey and Southampton, offer'd their own Heads to ave the King's, declaring, that they alone were guilty of the Things laid to his Charge. The Prince of Wales, nd Prince of Orange, fought all over Holland for the Kindred, Friends, and Confederates of Cromwel, Ireton, and other Judges appointed to Try his Majesty, and sent them into England, with Commission to offer any Thing to fave his Life, or at least to put off the Judgment. The Queen writ to the Speaker of the Commons in such Language as might have mov'd any other, and the Letter was deliver'd by the French Ambassador, who was now in worse Condition than ever to assist the King, any other way than by folliciting, and doing good Offices; France at that Time labouring under a Civil War, as England had done.

All these Negotiations were in vain, Cromwel's Geni- Hypocrify us having the Ascendant over all those he employ'd to of the Facexecute his Designs. Every Man of them, with montion. Strous Hypocrify, excus'd himself to those that sollicited for the King, alledging the Orders of Providence, which, they said, they were compell'd to put in Execution, tho' never so much against their Inclinations; the Spitit of God, by which they were actuated, requiring such Submission from them. An Enthusiastick Wench, samous by the Name of, the Maid of Hertford, oblig'd them so far as to give out, it had been reveal'd to her, that all the Commanders of the Army had done towards

bring.

1648.

bringing the King to Justice, was the Will of God. The fierce Parson Hugh Peters, in every Book of Holy Will Hugh Pe-found some Passage, or Example, to justify the King Sometimes he was one of those wicked Kings, whom the Saints, intrusted by God with the two edgid Sword of Justice, meaning by them Cromwel, and the others commission'd, were to bind in Chains, and their Nobles in Fetters of Iron. Sometimes he was a Benha dad, a King deferving Death, whom his Judges could not spare, without losing their own Souls for him. The leud Actor being full of these Notions, got into the Pul pit, where he emphatically urg'd them, not sparing in shed Tears upon Occasion. There was no need of his Eloquence to perswade Cromwel's Creatures to commit Murder, and give it the Colour of an agreeable Sacri fice to God; for that Tyrant preach'd himself, and wa fo skilful at counterfeiting of Inspiration, that he didi extempore, either in Council, or in Company, or at the Head of an Army.

try'd.

Pursuant to these Instructions, and the Impression The King made by fuch an Oracle, at the beginning of the Year 1649, the new Court of Justice summon'd Charles Stuart King of England, so it was worded, as guilty of Tyran ny, of High Treason, and of all the Murders and Vio lences committed in the Nation, during the War. He was brought from Windsor to London, in Order to ap pear at Westminster, where the Court sate. It is report ed, that when he appear'd there, and they read his Impeachment, in the Name of the People of England Fairfax's Wife, who was in a Gallery, stood up, and interrupting the Clerk who read, cry'd out, It is a Lin Scarce the tenth Part of the People of England have any Hand in this Crime, which is brought about by the Contrivance of the Traytor Cromwel, who is there. The Lady's Courage was equally admir'd with the Temper of the Tyrant, who, without the least Notice taken of that Reproach, went on with what he had in Hand.

Condemn'd . The Bufiness was vigorously push'd on. The Kingi in this last Action of his Life, showing such a Resoluti on as became his Crown, positively refus'd to own the Authority of the Court. They also refus'd to hear what he had to offer, and he was condemn'd by way of Contumacy, to have his Head cut off, as a Tyrant, a Traytor, a Murderer, and a publick Enemy to the National

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Under the Family of the Stuarts, &c.

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lever any Prince was less deserving of those Titles than e; as never addicted to Tyranny, and no Man more verse to Blood. The Thirst of his Enemies after his, ould not allow them to defer the Execution of the Sennce. However, he had leisure to prepare himself to e, by the Practice of many Virtues, which would have ade him a Martyr, if, as I have elsewhere observed, had suffered what he did for maintaining the true eligion against Sects, as he did for intending to propate one Sect by the Destruction of another. Being capable of mentioning his Sufferings as they deserved, will spare my self the Horror of writing them, and a ation I have a Respect for, the Shame of having proceed such Monsters as all the World detests.

All the Comfort his Majesty had, during that discon-His Displate Interval, was the embracing two of his Children stions for it were still at London, being the Duke of Glocester, Death.

youngest of his three Sons, and the Princess Eliza-

, elder than Henrietta, whom her Governess had ry'd over to France in her Cradle. After the usual dearments, he strictly charg'd them to Honour the een their Mother, for whom he to his last Hour reh'd such a Tenderness and Affection, as he never forre to express upon all publick Occasions. There had in a Report spread abroad, that the Rebels intended crown the Duke of Glocester; and therefore his May made him promise, that he would never accept of Crown whilst his elder Brothers liv'd. He bid him rge the Prince of Wales, if ever he were in Power, to make use of it to revenge his Death; he order'd Duke of York to be obedient to his Brother, as his ful Sovereign; which that Prince still glories in hag fo exactly perform'd, as never to be able to accuse felf of deviating.

His Majesty being sensibly touch'd by this moving His End. ewel, would see no Body afterwards, not even the ke of Richmond, who had obtain d leave, nor his own phew, the Elector Palatine, who being able to do noter, was come to London to sollicit for him. He shut self up at St. James's, then the Place of his Confinent; where having prepar'd for the fatal Moment, he it come on without dread. On the 9th of February, French Account, which is our 30th of January) has been conducted to Whitehall, he mounted on a

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Scaffold, purposely erected before the Gate of that Re fidence of the Kings of England, where making a short Speech, he clear'd himself from the Imputation of h ving occasion'd the War, and acknowledg'd, that the un just Sentence which brought him to his Death, was Punishment for his having consented to another. All Men understood he meant the Judgment against the Earl of Strafford. He declar'd he freely forgave hi Murderers; and faid, the only way to fecure a lasting Peace was to return to their Obedience to the leg Power, then refiding in his Successor, to give every on his Due, to God what appertain'd to Him, to the Per ple what was theirs, and to the King what was his Right Having spoke to this Purpose, he laid down his Heal which a mask'd Executioner struck off, in the st Year of his Age, and the 25th of his Reign. It is n ported that Cromwel would needs fee his Body, a having caus'd the Coffin, he was carry'd in from the Scaffold to Whitehall, to be open'd, to have taken the Head, and look'd earnestly upon it, without bein disturb'd at a Spectacle which put him in mind of som ny Crimes. The Duke of Richmond, the Marquis Hertford, and the Earls of Dorset and Lindsey, having of tain'd leave to bury him, carry'd the Body to Winds and laid it near that of King Henry the 8th, as if Pro dence would have put Posterity in Mind, that Ki Charles's Misfortunes were a Punishment of the Pres ceffor's Crimes in the Person of his Issue.

King Charles and bis Brethren.

England, after this Murder, faw the most universals amazing Revolution it had ever beheld. The who the Second Face of Things was chang'd, and scarce any Memoria remain'd of what it had been for 2000 Years. Mon chy, of fuch ancient standing in that Island, was torn by the very Roots. The two next Heirs, the Prince Wales, then King Charles the 2d, and the Duke of You his next Brother, were Out-law'd. They were quite so inhuman as to shed the Blood of the Duke Glocester, who was then but nine Years of Age. was fent over into Holland; but the Princess Elizab found not so good Usage. It was debated whether should not be bound Apprentice to some Trade, and last resolv'd to send her to Carisbroke Castle, in the of Wight, where the ill Air, and want of Attendant soon ended her Life. All those who had been act Re

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n those latter Days were punish'd, and among them 1648. Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and the Lord Capel, eheaded by Sentence of the same Court that had con-Hamilton'd the King. The Duke of Hamilton's Fate was ton, &c. xtraordinary, and worth their Observation who apply executed. Iffory to Manners. He was a Man of Sense and Courge, born with great Designs, a generous Heart, and naspiring Genius, but with such an Air of Subtilty as ad given all Mankind an ill Notion of his Sincerity, so at tho' he dy'd for his King, it remain'd doubtful whener he had been faithful to him.

The House of Lords would have been too remarkable House of Memorial of the Monarchy, had it been kept up, and Peers above Parliament of England had still retain'd some Badges list'd. Royalty in that Assembly. The Tyrants could not low of that, they therefore suppress'd it, chusing two three of those that were most intirely devoted to the action, and most unworthy of their Birth, with some hers straitly link'd to Cromwel, to sit among the Comons, who from that Time were look'd upon as the aly Managers of the Sovereign Power, which was dear'd to be devolv'd upon the People by the setting up a Commonwealth, under Colour whereof the Usarer insensibly worm'd himself into the Government of the Nation.

The End of the First BOOK.

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Revolutions in England

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Family of the STUARTS, &c.

BOOK II.

OLIVER CROMWEL usurps the Sovereign Authority, which descends not to his Family: His Power, and good Fortune. Soon after his Death the lawful King is restor'd.

1649.

but that which Oliver Cromwel was guilty of might have been wip'd off by the mighty Exploits, the fleddy Conduct, and the perfect Prosperity of that samous Tyrant. The Lives of those who are made Heroes by Ambition are seldom free from Cruelty and Injustice. Had Cromwel's Life been sully only by those Crimes which are usual in Usurpers, it sould not but have dazl'd those, who are not so nice in bring.

1649.

inging Matters to be try'd by the Weights of the incluary; nor is History so intirely devoted to strict irtue, as to have deny'd such a superior Genius a Place nong great Men, had his Crimes been of a lower

Notwithstanding all the Measures taken by Cromwel King fuppressing of kingly Government, by murdering Charles e King, still another King appear'd, who did not lay the zdi

de his Hopes of restoring the Monarchy. Charles the had Sense, Courage, and Capacity, and made this Ivantage of his Banishment, that he could in Person licite all the Sovereigns in Europe to assist him in a use which was almost their own as well as his. Tho'ey were never so much divided among themselves, an cident of such an extraordinary Nature might have v'd to unite them again, or at least to suspend for a sile the private Quarrels of their Dominions, to take

that which concern'd their Dignity.

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Besides these Reasons of Fear from abroad, Cromwel Posture of d others still stronger to be apprehensive of at home. Affairs:

here could be no difmembring of those three great rts which compose the British Monarchy, without a flection on the new Government, and giving the ng a confiderable Advantage towards restoring the , by recovering his own Right. Yet were there ficient Grounds to question the holding of Scotland, was there much more to be hop'd in regard of Ired. The Ceffation of Arms, so much exclaim'd against the Parliamentarians, was broken, the Catholicks d prevail'd, and the Protestant Royalists having joyn'd em, under the Marquis of Ormond, tho' those two rties were not well united among themselves, yet they d made a confiderable Progress against the Parliaent Party. Even England was not in such a Posture could be much rely'd on. The Nation was not unifally gone aftray, but that Conscience and Duty fill elerv'd the King some faithful Servants. The Supeffing of the Upper House could not but provoke the ers, who were thereby degraded, and made equal th the Commons. The feveral Sects and Factions at had first rais'd the Troubles, and those who found their Advantage in the Changes that had been de, only waited an Opportunity to procure others.

he Authority of the Parliament, supported by a victor

rious

The History of the Revolutions in England,

rious Army, might keep all in awe; but besides that the Thing they call'd a Parliament was then only a mon ftrous Gang, much differing from the Majesty of a Affembly formerly compos'd of fo many Great Men, was requifite there should be a Subordination between the faid Army and Parliament; for them to act in con cert, and that was no easy Matter to be brought about

Oliver's Arts to make him-Self absolute.

This was the Posture of Affairs in England, who Cromwel made himself Master, and under the Denomi nation of a Commonwealth, erected to himself a mon Absolute, more Monarchical, and more Sovereign Da minion, than ever any King, even the Conqueror him felf enjoy'd. In order to proceed more regularly this Defign, he began by fixing his Authority amon The Methods he made use of to thisen the English. were, cunningly infinuating into the Parliament a Army a Zeal for advancing his Defign; uniting the to that purpole; securing the one by raising a Jealou of the other; and making them act uniformly both to Intention and Conduct; fo as they might become for midable to whom either Duty or Interest might have fet against him. Their vigorous suppressing a Muin happening among some of the Troops at Oxford, and the Parts adjacent, show'd that he had found the pro per Expedient to stir up, and make those two Bodin act effectually, and that the Machine was fit to work the intended Effect.

Divisions at home.

Having secur'd the Kingdom within, Cromwel, for abroad fe- fome Time, observ'd what Effect the King's Death ha cure bim produc'd among Foreigners. The News of fuch a Vi lany fill'd all Europe with Horror, and every Prince Ju then thought himself oblig'd to punish it. The nishment, and Sollicitations of the Son, added to the generous Zeal conceiv'd for revenging of the Father every one gave him fair Words, which made Cromm apprehensive of the Consequences. But the Usurpe was foon out of Fear; those Motions of Generosing which are for sprightly in private Men, in Sovereign foon give Way, not only to Necessity, but even to Opportunity of aggrandizing themselves, or weakning a rival Power. The crafty Villain soon perceiv'd, the the two only Monarchies which he had any Caule fear, were neither dispos'd to unite against him, nor a Condition to do him any Harm fingly. The King

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Advantage of it. Those two Crowns being in that Posture, Cromwel plainly saw that e'er long he should be courted by both of them; so that instead of having sause to sear either French or Spaniards, he should one Day be Umpire between them, and have his Choice which he thought sit to pitch upon for his Friend.

Being thus at once secur'd against Faction at home, Heresolves and War abroad, Cromwel bent his Thoughts against to go into Enemies, that were neither altogether Foreigners, nor Ireland, properly Natives; I mean the Scots, who were wavering a their Union with England; and the Irish, most of whom had already shaken off the Yoke. Whilst the ormer were narrowly observed, and all their Actions ry'd into without doing any Thing to provoke them, romwel hasted to subdue the latter, and resolv'd to

hanage that War in Person.

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The Parliament Party had scarce any Thing left them Siege of Ireland, but Dublin and Londonderry, and the Marquis Dublin formond was then actually besieging the Capital. rais'd. liver's Fortune may be said to have been in Ireland beare him. Before he left England, Dublin had been rever'd by the Parliament Forces sent over under Reynolds and Venables. Jones, the Governor of the City, having eceiv'd that Relief at a Time when the Besiegers were usy fortifying an advanc'd Post, made such a surious ally upon them, that they were seiz'd with a pannick ear; so that their General was oblig'd to raise the iege, after a Rout, wherein he lost 4000 Men kill'd in the Spot, and 2500 taken.

The News of the Success being brought to Cromwel, Cromwel, e, to make his Advantage of it, hasted the imbarking of in Ireland is Army, which was not numerous, but consisted of eteran and well-disciplin'd Troops. He sail'd from silford in August, directly for Dublin, where of 15000 len he gave 5000 to Venables, for Londondsrry, and ept 10000, with which he march'd to besiege Drogbeda. Drogbeda was an important Place, into which the Lord Takes ieutenant had thrown the best Men he had lest. Sir Arthur Droghes sounded with all Necessaries to hold out a long Siege, to in the Enemies Army, expecting the General would in it foot by foot, and prepar'd to dispute every Inch ith him. Aston judg'd right; but the Missortune was,

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that Cromwel thought as he did, and being fenfible, tha if he attack'd Drogheda in form, the Length of the Sieg would consume many of his Men, and Sickness migh disable those that were not cut off by the Sword, he re folv'd to Storm the Place. As foon as the Cannon ha play'd, perceiving fome small Breaches in the Wall, h order'd the Affault to be given. They were twice n puls'd, but the General himself, and Ireton, leading the Troops then almost dismay'd, put such fresh Courage into them, that neither the Garrison nor the Rampan could stop them. All gave way to that fresh Effort Four Thousand were put to the Sword in three Dan the Soldiers had to Plunder, and fatisfy their Avania and Cruelty. The Churches were no Sanctuary for the Conquer'd, who were butcher'd upon the very Altan Some being got up to the Tops of them, were made come down, and only one of them fpar'd, who having cast himself down receiv'd no other Hurt but breaking one of his Legs, for the Rarity of which Accidental was spar'd.

Other Plader.

The Destruction of Drogheda render'd Cromwel's Nam ces surren-formidable to all other Places round about. Few them had so much Resolution as to expect a Summon to furrender; fo that he was foon Master of all Place along the Eastern Coast of Ireland, from Dublin to Du The Garrison of this last abandon'd it, before the Enemy appear'd; and having taken away fome Piece of heavy Cannon, left them by the way to fly the lighter

Wexford taken by Storm.

Cromwel did not at that Time carry on his Conquell any farther Northward, but return'd to Dublin, and march'd to Wexford, that Part lying convenient for ful fifting of his Army in the Southern Counties. He in mediately fummon'd the Governor; who, expeding Relief, was so cunning as to amuse him; till Cromus perceiving it, caus'd him to be so briskly attack'd, that the Garrison dismay'd, and abandoning the Walls, let him a free Passage into the City. They rally'd, and fought bravely in the Market Place, but in vain, all the Fruit of their Refistance being only the Honour of no falling without Opposition. Wexford was treated like Drogheda, and that Severity had the same Effect there the Terror spreading into all the Towns and Fort along the Coast, as far as Duhlin, spar'd the Genera the Trouble of summoning them. The ıd,

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The Winter began now to grow sharp, and the Seaon rainy ; Oliver's Troops fuffer'd very much, and the lux raging weakned them. Many thought thefe Crom-Reasons should have oblig'd that General to put a Stop wel's good o his Conquests, for fear of losing them as fast as they Fortune. vere gain'd; but he was of another Opinion, and more the Right than they. The Difficulties the Marquis formend met with towards bringing another Army to the Field, after his Defeat at Dublin; the ancient isagreement again breaking out between the Cathocks and him, on account of the late Difgrate; the Seret Intelligence held by Cromwel in the Province of funster, which was to be deliver'd up to him, in case e could but come near enough to countenance the Treain; and the mighty Affairs that call'd him back ver the Sea, seem'd to him more powerful Motives for ontinuing the War, than the Winter was to interrupt is Progress. Being thus resolv'd, he attack'd Ross, and ok it, through the Fault of Count Taff, who held out at 8 Days with a Garrison of 2000 Men. Cromwel laid Bridge over the Barow, and pass'd over his Army to raw near to Munster, subduing the Country as he ent. It was well for him that the Intelligence he held that Province prov'd more true to him, than it had one to the King. He had suffer'd himself to be led aay by the Course of his Successes, and abus'd his good ortune. The ill Success he met with at the Sieges of uncannon and Waterford brought him to himself, and think of taking Winter Quarters. It was then too Munster te, had not Treachery reliev'd him. December was revolts to me on, and he had scarce 4000 Men fit for Service, him. hereas the Marquis of Ormond lay in the way to Dubwith 8000. Cromwel had no other Place to winter ; all the Places he had taken being too much expos'd the Excursions of the other Party's Garrisons, to be ell supply'd with Provisions, and have leisure enough recover after so many Fatigues. At this Time almost I Munster declar'd for him. Youghal, Kingsale, Cork, and her Posts were deliver'd up to him at once, and fursh'd him with Means to refresh his Soldiers, during e three hardest Months of the Winter, which they ent there in great Peace. The Earl of Inchiqueen, a oyalist, made some Attempts to recover Wexford, at in vain, for Nalson prevented him. He would have K 4 fallen

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1649. fallen upon Arklow, but Hudson stopp'd and oblig'd him to retire.

It was not Cromwel's Temper to lie long idle, whenhe Hisfarther had much to do. The Month of February, in the Year Progress, 1650, was not quite over, before he took the Field

gain. Some Troops were come over to him, which his active Nature, together with the Newsthat pres'dhim to return into England, suffer'd not to take much Red Some fay the Parliament then made Instances to him return into England, and that he excus'd himfelf; how ever it was, he went on to reduce Ireland, and was fuc He at first divided his Army to distress the Marquis of Ormand, who had not Forces enough to part them. He left Baron Broghil, with a flying Campi Munster, Ingoldsby about Limerick, and whilst Coot and Venables acted in the North, came himself with Parto his Forces before Calan, where he was joyned by the rel under Ireton and Reynolds, who had taken another way Calan held out but one Day, and pay'd dear for that short Resistance, all Persons there being put to the Sword, except Butler's Troops, which furrendred be fore the Cannon was fir'd. All Places round about vo luntarily submitted. The General was for taking Gon ran, and thence falling upon Kilkenny, a Place of Confe quence, and then made the Capital to the King's Party. To this purpose, he sent Orders to Hudson, the New Governor of Dublin, to bring him all the Forces he could draw out of the Garrisons of Wexford, and then ther Posts he had taken on that Side. Hudson joynd him near Gowran, after taking by the Way Kildan, Balison, and Letrim. The Army was then 22000 ftrong which the Marquis of Ormand not daring to oppose, as

Takes Kil-not having half that Number, Gowran was foon reduced and Kilkenny held out no longer than was requifite took kenny. tain Honourable Terms. The Articles were, That the Town should be deliver'd, with what Arms and Ammunition were in it; That the Inhabitants should pay 2000 Pounds to Cromwel; on which account every Man should have liberty to stay, or go, as he thought st; And the Garrison to march out with their Arms and

Baggage, and be conducted to Athlone.

Cromwel marching on Southward from Kilkenny, laid There was a Garrison in the Placeof and takes Siege to Clonmel. Clonmel. near 2000 Men, commanded by an Iristman of a good

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eputation; the Post was fortify'd, and the Lord Lieunant feem'd refolv'd to relieve it. Cromwel march'd ither, and having detach'd Reynolds with a flying Ary to observe the Marquis, boldly laid Siege toit. The eatest Danger of that Enterprize was not from the arquis of Ormand, whom Reynolds strictly observing, oke all his Measures. The Bishop of Ross was more be fear'd, who having on a sudden gather'd 4 or oo Men, was advancing to relieve Clonmel. It fell out rtunately for the Besiegers, that Broughill happ'ned to frong enough to fight that Martial Prelate. uted, and hang'd him, which so daunted the Goverr of Caringdrede, that he surrender'd his Post to the ictor. The Cruelty Cromwel us'd towards those who ade much Opposition, caus'd Clonmel to surrender oner than it ought in Reason to have done. efence of some Days, carry'd on with Valour and accels enough, no Relief appearing, the Garrison stole it by Night, and every one shifting for himself, the habitants found themselves left to the Mercy of their hemies. The Townsmen however were not at a Loss, it tho' for faken by their Defenders, capitulated themlves, without taking Notice of the Occasion that ov'd them so to do, and obtain'd such Conditions, as y'd their Lives and Goods. Cromwel caus'd the Gar-Ion to be pursu'd, and some that were overtaken fell crifices for the rest; but he did the Inhabitants no rong, fuffering them to enjoy the Fruits of their Inenuity upon the Faith of the Treaty.

Whilst Cromwel made these Conquests in one Part of Ulster reeland, Coot and Venables did the like in another, and duc'd by
duc'd all the North under his Obedience. Armagh, Coot and
rick fergus and Charlemont submitted to the Parliament, Venables.

I there was scarce any Town, or Strong Hold in all
e great Province of Ulster that durst hold out. Cromel was preparing to take Waterford and Duncannon,
hich he had miss'd of before, and had reason to beeve, that before the Campaign were ended, Athlone,
imerick, and Galway, the only Places of Note still lest
te honester Side, would follow the Fate of the rest,
and make him Masser of all the Island. He had block'd

Waterford, when about the Beginning of May, a Cromwell w Order, or rather a Request of the Parliament, ob-returns to 3'd him to leave the finishing of his Conquest to Ireton, England.

and

1650. and go over himself into England, where he now though

The Scots The Scots had not been so guilty of the Murder of repent sel-King Charles the First, out of the natural Temper of the ling the Nation, which is well enough affected to their Some King. reigns; as through Infection received from the English

Nation, which is well enough affected to their Some reigns; as through Infection receiv'd from the English whom a vain Conceit of Liberty, more fatal to the Peace than the worst of Slavery, has in all Ages arm The Violence of the latter ha against their Kings. drawn away the former, and caus'd them to confent fuch Proceedings as they did not forefee the Confeque ces of. It is true the Scots had deliver'd up the Kings the English Rebels; but it is likely they had not so illa Opinion of them as to think they would proceed for in Villany. Their Negotiations with the Parliament England, to fave that Prince's Life, when they perceive it was in danger; the Forces they rais'd, the Enda vours they us'd to fuccour him, show'd even then the they repented having contributed towards his Destruct on. Cromwel's Activity had disappointed them, and pro vented all Methods of attempting any thing for ion time. The Bufiness he had in Hand afterwards afford ed them Leisure to take new Measures. Since they ha not been able to fave the King, they were at least to fecuring to his Son that one of his Crowns, which the thought was at their Disposal. Some private Caba were of another Opinion, being either ingag'd with Argyle, or Emissaries to Cromwel. The Body of the Nation was for those Methods which were dictated by Justice, and the publick Interest of the State, which could scarce fail of falling under the English Yoke, w less Scotland, by embracing the King's Party, divided England, and gain'd over to its Side those who still were well affected to Monarchy.

They difa- This Business was long Negotiating, and bringing to gree about a Conclusion. All those that were for the King did not calling inagree about the Manner of his coming. Some would the King. have him as his Predecessors had been, with the same

Authority and Prerogative, alledging it would be dishonourable to take Advantages of their Prince's Misson tunes; that they ought to adhere to the ancient Law and Customs of the Monarchy; and that fince they thought fit to keep up Monarchy, they ought not to leften it. The Highlanders, mest of them Catholicks

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aded by the Gordons, and all Montrose's Party, which as still in Being tho'he were absent, stood up for this Others were of another Mind, and would pinion. ve a King, but without any Power, or scarce any Pregative but Precedence; a Head without any Soveignty, or any other Business, but the approving of all e People's Humours, and complying with the Will all Cabals, that should be prevalent enough to pass nto a Law. They alledg'd, they ought to lay hold that Opportunity for moderating the Monarchical wer, and securing their Religion and Laws against the constancy and Tyranny of Princes; for should they it flip, it would be afterwards too late to repent, that ey had not done that when it was a proper Time, ich there would never be another Time to do; that King was to be reftor'd, but upon such Terms, as ght be advantageous to the People, and for the fue secure their Estates, their Religion, and their Lities against any Attempts and Incroachments of their vereigns. This was the Opinion of the Presbyterian Ct, always steady, and uniform in its Maxims, as well Scotland as in England, and the fame towards Charles Second that it had been to the First. That Sect bethe ruling Party, the most numerous, and chiefly brac'd by the People of Quality, their Opinion pre-I'd above the others. It was resolv'd, they should ite the King to reaffume the Throne of his Ancestors ; that at the same Time there should be certain Conions laid before him to subscribe, without which ey were refolv'd he should not return.

King Charles was in the Isle of Jersey, which had re Their Mesin'd faithful to him, when Baron Liberton came to sage to the n from the Nation, with the News that he had been King. oclaim'd King; but that they could not consent to his ercising of the Regal Power, unless under such Terms were contain'd in a Letter he deliver'd.

The Letter began with many Compliments of Con-Contents lance upon the unfortunate End of the late King; a of it. testation of that Murder; Protestations of Obedice, and Assurances of Loyalty. The Conclusion was another Strain. Upon their Submission to the King, ey requir'd of him, among other Things, That he buld take the Scots Covenant; That he should remove mahout his Person all those who had taken up Arms

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for his Father; that he should not recal Montrose; the should entertain no Catholick in his Court, and short, that he should appoint a Place, where the Depties of the Nation, being sufficiently empower'd, might conclude a Treaty with him, the Copy whereof the there sent him.

The King's King Charles had too much Sense to carry himse Answer. haughtily out of Season. Such was the Posture of haughtily out of Season. Such was the Posture of haughtily out of Season. Such was the Posture of haught himself oblig'd to the Scotch the Justice they shew'd in recalling him to a Throneth was his due, and immediately sent Flemming to return them his Thanks. Soon after, without mentioning them his Thanks. Soon after, without mentioning the Difficulties those Conditions reduc'd him to, he so Liberton home, bidding him affure the States of Scotland that he would do all that lay in him to answer the Affection, appointing Breda for the Place to meet the Deputies they were to send to finish that Work

Opinions of Whilst these Preliminaries to so important and me Lis Coun- a Treaty were in hand, the King advis'd in Count

whether he should accept of the Offer made by the Scots upon the Terms propos'd. He writ to the Que his Mother, and such other of his Friends as weren about him, to ask their Opinions, wherein they ry'd. Many were utterly against his trusting the Som alledging, that their Submission was counterfeit, and specious Colour for carrying on of some Treason; the the Example of the late King ought to teach the Si how little Confidence was to be repos'd on a perfidion Nation, which after obliging his Father to remove h most faithful Servants, as they would have him do byhi had deliver'd him up to his Enemies; that the Parlis ment of Scotland offer'd his Majesty nothing but the perficial part of Royalty, and referv'd to it felf the Sub stance; that his Majesty ought to take care not to lay Burden on himself, which he would not be able to shake off at pleasure; that it was much better to stick to those Measures he had concerted with Montrose, for subduing of rebellious Scotland, and enter it as a warlike King, a the Head of an Army that might make him formidable than like a mock King, with the Applause of a People who despis'd when they commended him. These were the Sentiments of many. On the other hand, the Queen, and the greater Number with her, maintain'd that he ought to go into Scotland upon any Terms; that nd,

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Affairs then flood, nothing could be done without me Hazard; that France being then sensible of the ffects of its King's Minority, there was no Hope of y confiderable foreign Affitiance, and therefore the ng ought not to refule the Offer made him by his Subets, how hard foever the Conditions might feem, ere being some likelihood that they would in time ate of them, his Condescension towards them requing a Return on their fide towards him; that out of thing came nothing, but one Kingdom might recover other; that it was no new thing for a King of Scoted, well attended and seconded, to obtain Victories er the English, and that according to the present Cirmilances, one alone would suffice to alter the Posture Affairs; that one part of England only waited such an pportunity to declare and join the King, and affift m to subdue the other; and that many had fill Sense ough of their Duty to venture something for their ince, if they faw but the least Probability of withinding the Power of the Usurpers.

These Reasons prevail'd with the King, who was the The King ore hasty in concluding with the Scots, in regard he treats with sinform'd t ey were making Preparations at London the Scots besiege him in Jersey. As soon as resolv'd, he sail'd at Breda. The Scots eputies came to meet him, with additional Proposals, hich were not the same he had before, Murray soon er bringing others quite different. The King, the versomuch offended at that soul Proceeding, follow'd e Method propos'd, and having resolv'd to go over to Scotland, notwithstanding his Admittance was to shim dear, he gave the Deputies a savourable Recepon, and only us'd fair Means to incline them to abate some Points that press'd heaviest upon him.

This Moderation making the Treaty calm and easy, Underhand twithstanding the little Compliance he found in the deals with its; it was daily expected to see the Conclusion of it, Montrose, hen an unexpected Accident had like to have broke it f. The King had actually recall'd Montrose out of ingary, and given him a Commission to raise Forces thim in Scotland, and carry as many thither from her Parts, as he could draw together. And after Litton had demanded of him in the Name of the Parliaent of Scotland, that he should not send over that

Lord ;

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1650. Lord; being as yet no way engag'd upon that Bufinelin he gave Montrose notice of the Treaty there was on foot, and of the Article which concern'd himself, order ing him to proceed as if he knew nothing of it, and in get into Scotland as foon as possible; with such Forces might render the Scors somewhat more tractable, with this Forefight, that he might make the recalling of him a meritorious Act towards them, if he were compella to it.

Montrose in Scotland.

Montrose had obey'd punctually. Tho' he had m Army ready as yet, he had taken some few Troops ha stily rais'd in the Northern Parts, and hoping the would foon increase upon his appearing in Scotland, he first landed them in the Orcades; and thence carry them over to Caithness. The Parliament had noticed it, and having order'd Lesley to march that way with 8000 Men, Montrofe was so unfortunate, that a Part of 300 Horse, detach'd from that Army under the Com mand of Straughan, had accidentally met him, and on in pieces the undisciplin'd raw Men he was leading. He escap'd himself, and being disguis'd, was out of danger of being taken; but Hunger obliging him to repair the Laird of Alston, who had formerly serv'd under him Taken and he was betray'd, deliver'd up to Lefley, and the Parlis

put to Death.

ment, who condemn'd and executed him, fetting up his Quarters on the Gates of the four principal Cities in Scotland. Such an unworthy End had John Graham, le zealous for his King, to the very last, that after hearing the Judgment; which condemn'd him to be quarter and his Limbs expos'd in several Places, he said to the Chancellor, who pronounc'd it, He only wish'd he had Flesh enough; that some Part might be set up in ever Town in the World, as a Monument of the Duty a Subject

owes to his Sovereign.

It was not question'd but that Accident would have Infolence of broke off the Treaty between the King and the Scott In short, nothing but the Necessity the King was to duc'd to, could have made him put up fuch an Affron fo calmly as he did. But that Prince's Affairs werein fuch a Condition, as not to permit his refenting the juries that were offer'd him; being reduc'd to wish, the Scots might as eafily forgive him for having fent Monty rose into Scotland, as he did their putting of him to Death. His Majesty's Fears on that account were no

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ondless. Upon the first Sally of his Concern, he d complain'd to the Deputies of their foul Usage to introfe, and demanded Satisfaction. He had also writ o Scotland about it, where the Parliament meeting, ere had been 32 Votes for breaking off the Treaty. wever the better Cause prevail'd once more by Pluity of Voices. Murray had Orders to affure his Maly, that the Scots perfifted in their Resolution of reving him; that he should find them very submissive, if any Thing made him uneafy in that Introduction Reconcidiation, Time would foften it by degrees; t the Bufiness of Montrose could not fail of a good ect towards restoring of his Affairs, which all the tion was defirous of; that tho' they had found Lets in that General's Cabinet, which might have given m other Thoughts, they were willing to take no noof them, defiring him on the other hand to think othing but hastning his Departure, and coming over reign over Subjects, who were ready to facrifice all y had to revenge him on his Enemies.

The mutual Resentment occasion'd by the Business of King atrose, between the King and the Scots, being thus Charles in m'd by Degrees, the Treaty was again set on Foot; Scotland. the Prince of Orange having taken Pains to prevail them to yield a little in some Points, which seem'd affect his Majesty's Honour, it was at last conclusions Charles embark'd, and arriv'd in Scotland in

The Time spent in concerting such a nice Affair, e the Parliament of England Leisure to advertize ousness of nwel, and upon that Advice he thought fit to trust a- Presbyteher with compleating the Reduction of Ireland, that rians. night himself attend that of Scotland. The base Beiour of the Scots gave him Leisure enough, and all the g's Application could not prevent the ill Confequen-he apprehended from their manner of Proceeding. land never feem'd to be so near Destruction through ill Posture of its Affairs, and the vile Dispositions of People. The Divisions occasion'd by the Civil War tinu'd, Factions multiply'd, and grew daily hotter. e Presbyterian, which still prevail'd, behav'die self owards the rest, as more and more provok'd them; ' the King's Presence was so far from producing any deration, that the Presbyterians grew the more insupportable,

1650.

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supportable, for the Highlanders and Montrofians having ono Means left to exert their Respect for his Majesty be in Complaints, there was no Regard had for them. No they would not fo much as admit them into the Arm under Colour that the Scripture forbids converfing win fuch as they call'd Malignants, and that odious Name was given to all that were not Puritans.

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The worst was, that the King had no better Usa fulting the than the rest, and the Tyranny he lay under from the

Party in Scotland, was beyond what he had apprehended in Flanders. He had thought himself well us'd, h they exacted no more of him than what he had though most unreasonable to promise. No sooner was helan ed, but that amidst his solemn Receptions in all Place amidst the publick Rejoycings and Acclamations of the People, he easily perceiv'd how little Respect those Power had for him. Bad Weather having oblig'dh to land Northward, he was received at Aberdeen wi extraordinary Tokens of fincere Joy; a Present in M ney, made him by the Inhabitants, sufficiently testing it. This Testimony of the People's Affection gave his real Satisfaction; but that Pleasure was soon allay'd a Disgust given him on that very account by those w had the Disposal of him in their Hands. The mome they were inform'd, that the People of Aberdeen h made the King a Present of Money, without acquain ing them, they publish'd an Order, importing, the fuch as were willing to make his Majesty any Present Money, should put it into no other Hands than of publick Officers. Going on to Dundee, he was ente tain'd with all possible Magnificence; but the Facili had the Impudence, by the way, to shew him the Quarter of Montrose, which the Parliament had it thither.

Edinborough.

His Condition was no better at the Capital, the Usage at elsewhere. He was proclaim'd there, and receiv'd Honours due to his Dignity; but he had been no who less free, less regarded, less consulted with about public Affairs, and admitted into the Council. Guards we immediately affign'd him, not so much to do him! nour, as to observe, and permit none but the Faction come near him. They would have him remove the few English they had consented before should be about him; and he had much ado to retain the Duke of h kingb igham, and a few others. He was continually befet 1650. Presbyterian Ministers, who indiscreetly abusing the berty he was forc'd to allow them, were perpetually menting him with most extravagant Discourses, to him not only against the Catholick Religion, but . en against the Church of England, in which he had en brought up. His Majesty being but little addicted Impudent Devotion, they every Moment told him, his Tepidity Parsons. oceeded from having been educated in a Sect that had remonies and Bilhops, the profane Remains of Roman perstition, as they call'd them, wherewith the Church England had defil'd the Sanctity of the Reformation. hey would have him do Penance, and look on himfelf unworthy to Reign, till such Time as he was become rfectly submissive to the Word of God, that he might a King according to his Heart. They drove this int so far, as to require he should not only do Penance his own Sins, but for those of others, and particuly the King his Father's, and for what those Hereks call'd the Idolatries of his Mother. His Majesty, fear of provoking them, was oblig'd to fit on a low ool in the midft of their Meetings, which they call e Stool of Repentance.

His Majesty took these Discourses and Behaviour of More of firs the more to Heart, in regard that whilst they his Hard-k'd to him of Matters he little valu'd, the governing ships, rty said nothing to him of what nearest concern'd m, and would not allow him so much as to meddle martial Affairs. Thus the King sound himself in the wer of a People six'd in extravagant Principles, and I of mistaken Ambition, which prevail'd on them to clude from their Army so many brave and zealous en for the Honour of their Nation, and him from the ommand of those Forces that were to maintain his

parrel, when they were near being attack'd by all the wer of England.

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For during this Confusion among the People, and in Crome Affairs of Scotland, Cromwel, who had Notice of all, wel's Repar'd to make his Advantage of it. He was return'd ception in London, and had been receiv'd with great Applause. London, he did not refuse the Honours the People of that Catal offer'd him upon that Occasion, so he shew'd he had not enough not to make much account of them. It is ported, that as he was passing by Tyburn, the common

Place for executing of Malefactors, a Flatterer point ing to the Crowds of People that came to meet him and faying, See what a Multitude of People comes to attend you . Triumph; he answer'd very unconcern'd, More would come to fee me hang'd. He was not so indifferent as to the Honour of being look'd upon by his Fellow Usurpers as the only Man in England on whom they could de pend for the Success of the greatest Affairs, because Fairfax that publick Efteem secur'd his Sovereignty. He had

laid aside, a fresh Instance of it in the Parliament's Way of com

Cromwel mitting the Business of Scotland to him, obliging Fain General. fax to refign up the entire Command of the Army This was done in a decent manner. Fairfax ex cus'd himself for going into Scotland, alledging h wanted to repose himself, and that it was not prope for him, who had Lands in that Kingdom, and a Place in the Parliament there, to make War against it. Thu the whole Charge of that important Expedition wa laid on Cromwel. His Army had been commanded to march before, whilst he gave the necessary Orders in transporting Provisions to subfift it by Sea; as well foreseeing that the Scots would lay all waste, and then would neither be Man's Meat, nor Forage for Horles found on their Borders. Having made these Prepara tions, he set out Post, and arriv'd at Berwick on the 21 of July, where he stay'd some Days, and spent them, fit in publishing an Answer, in the Name of the Parlis ment of England, to a Complaint the Scots had made a London, on account of the Preparations there to got invade their Country. It is needless to set down the Contents of that Paper, they may be easily guels'dat Cromwel added an Invitation to the Scots on the From tiers, to return to their Houses they had abandon'd affuring them, that both their Persons and their Good should be secur'd against the Insults and Avarice of the

Marches to Ber wick.

tenant Generals. The English Army enter'd Scotland about the begin Scotland, ning of August, confishing of 17000 Men, and took Muscleborough and Dunbar without much Opposition The Divisions among the Scots had put Cromwel in hope that he should make a great Progress in a short Time

Soldiers. Whilst these Papers were spread abroad, the

General drew together his Forces. Monk and Lambert

Men famous in this History, serv'd under him as Lieu

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d find no Army fit to withfland him. But he was ceiv'd; the common Danger on a fudden allay'd all ivate Animofities. The Presbyterian Party took the eld, and was permitted to proceed. Their Army conted of 20000 Men, under the Command of old Lefley, s Nephew being Lieutenant, and Holborn and Mont-nery Major Generals.

Cromwel, whose Interest it was to endeavour to come Lesley on to a Battle, in a Country where his Army foundkeeps him thing to subfit on, march'd directly towards the Ene-at bays y, who lay encamp'd between Edinburgh and Leith,

cover those two Places, and the Heart of the Coun-The cunning English Man try'd all Ways to draw fley to fight; but he understood his Trade, and it behis Interest to protract Time, so to ruin the Enemies my, which had neither Ammunition nor Provisions, t what came from England at a great Charge, and th much difficulty, he kept himself so strongly inench'd, that Cromwel durst not attack him. The Eng-General us'd all the Baits and Stratagems known in ar to oblige the Scot to fight him; sometimes drawg him towards Dunbar, as if he would have befieg'd inburgh, and again moving to get between Sterling d him. But the Scot dexteroufly avoided all these ares, and tho' the English Army kept up close with m, so order'd his Motions, and posted himself so adntagiously, that the whole Month of August was spent those Countermarches, so tedious to a Man of Crom-I's Spirit, who could never meet with an Opportuly either to fight in open Field, or attack his Enemy his Camp.

Had the Scots held on that Conduct, it is likely Crom- The Scots I had fail'd in his Enterprize: But a mistaken Point resolve to Honour drew that hot Nation into the Misfortune it fight. I into by the Battle of Dunbar. They were provok'd the Insults of the English; they apprehended lest their plicy should be look'd upon as Cowardice; they beev'd they might beat those in a set Battle, whom they d sometimes advantagiously repuls'd upon decampg, and therefore they refolv'd to fight, and acquaint-

Cromwel with it.

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nie and That General being inform'd about the beginning of Are routed ptember, that the Scots defign'd to surprize Muscle-at Dunbat rough, and cut off his Convoy which came from Dunbar,

he march'd that way, and into the latter of those Towns 1650. where having refresh'd them, he again march'd them out to fight the Enemy, who had posted themselves near by. They also drew up, but with Precipitation, as not expecting the English to foon; and perhaps that Surprize was the Occasion of their Army's being at the very first put into such Disorder, as it could never to cover. Cromwel gain'd a compleat Victory. Three Thousand Scots were flain on the spot. Leith, Edin burgh, and all Places feated on the Southern Coast and the River Forth, as far as Sterling, Submitted to the Conqueror; only that last Strong Hold, and the Cash of the Capital, durst hold out in those Parts.

The Trouble the King conceiv'd at fo unfortunate a

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Extravagancies of Accident, was alleviated by the Hopes he conceiv'd that terians.

the Presby-it would prove advantagious to his Party. The Puritu were come to the highest Pitch of Extravagancy both towards himself and those they call'd Malignants. In one of those Actions which happen'd in August uponth Armies decamping, one of the Scots Parties being dron far enough, his Majesty, who happen'd to be nearth Place, and told of it, hasten'd thither, and by his his fence and Example had rally'd those that fled, and it for'd good Order. The King thought he had defer fome Thanks for that good Service, and expected that fuch a Proof of his Valour and Conduct would have prevail'd with them to give him that Post in the Arm which was his due; but instead of it, the Presbytem Ministers, and General Officers, press'd him more nestly than ever to withdraw, and not appear any mon in the Army. He told them that it was not for his Ho nour to lie idle, whilft they were fighting for him that a King in his Condition, who had no Means In to prevail against his hard Fortune, but by being to celsful in War, ought to look upon it as his main b finess, and not so intirely leave it to another's Care, to do nothing himself. The King, notwithstandings he could alledge, was oblig'd to withdraw, the Officer threatning to forfake him if he stay'd. Nor was the all, they enquir'd very narrowly, who had given the King notice of the Danger the Army was in, and banded near 3000 Men they thought were not intire of their Faction, looking on them as Malignants, will whom the Saints were to have no Intercourie.

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The King-was in hopes that the Defeat at Dunbar would open the Eyes of the Ministers, and the governng Part of the Puritans, that they might be lenfible More of of their ill Conduct, use him better, and re-unite all their Bru-Parts of the Nation under their natural and lawful So-tality. ereign. In short, it was for a Time believ'd there night be some such Disposition in the Scots; but those Hopes foon vanish'd. No sooner had the routed Scots ecover'd from their Fright, but they again fell into heir Obstinacy; the King was worse us'd than ever, he other Parties were contemn'd, and the Divisions beame more universal. The Highland Lords so much esented it, that they invited King Charles to come among hem. His Majesty, whose Patience was quite worn ut, consented, and made his Escape on pretence of Hunting; taking only three Persons along with him, nd repairing to the Viscount Dupes, lay conceal'd there ome Time, till some trusty Persons sent into the North ould bring him an Account of the good Inclinations, nd Strength of those who had call'd him. His Escape ut all those into a Consternation, in whom Puritanism ad not extinguish'd all Love of their Country, and Aprehension of falling under the English Yoke. They met The King nd consulted, and an English Man opportunely discover'd withdraws there the King lay; some murinous Persons were for from them. etting him go; but the wifer Sort prevail'd, concluing, that he ought to be recall'd for the same Reaons that first induc'd them to fend for him. They fent dontgomery to conjure him to return, and promife they ould alter that Method of Proceeding which had difusted him, so as never more to give him any more Caufe to complain.

Montgomery readily, and successfully, perform'd what They court e was sent about; getting to Duper before the King was him to resone. He there cast himself at his Feet, represent turn to ag, That his Retreat ruin'd his own Affairs by ruining their Army. he Nation's; that by withdrawing from the Parliament, assead of uniting the Parties, he made himself Head of he weakest, which abusing the Honour of being commanded by their Sovereign, would take fresh Boldness, and raise a Civil War, at a Time when they had enough to do to repulse a Foreign; that he would be himself he greatest Loser; that it concern'd no less than the se-

uring of his natural Inheritance, and the last Resource

he had; that they were sensible he had Cause to be di fatisfy'd, and begg'd his Pardon; that if he would no turn, he should meet with fuch different Entertainment as should blot out the Memory of that he complain'd of The King was loath to comply, fince it might be look upon as the Effect of a Lightness misbecoming his Cha racter; but it concern'd him fo much not to separan himself from the Bulk of the Nation, and he rely'd much on Montgomery's Promise, made in the Named the Parliament, of an intire Submission, that he is folv'd to return.

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Traiterous Remonfrance.

He was receiv'd with much Joy, and perceiv'd the did intend to alter their Behaviour towards him. How ever this Change was not at first so universal, but the a new Faction started up, calling themselves Remonstrant which gave him much Trouble, and endanger'dhi whole Party. One Colonel Straughan, who command ed 4000 Horse, with one Ker, was the Chief of the Party. The King using all his Endeavours to re-units the Nation, and cut off all Distinction between Pur tan and Malignant, in order to joyn the Forces of both against the Common Enemy; had already projected fome Agreement between the Puritans and the High landers. The latter had been admitted into the Service and some English with them, under certain Conditions which they had accepted of. Cromwel, who let flips Advantage, made use of this Opportunity to upbraid the Puritans with having departed from their Prince ples, and joyning with God's Enemies, under a King that was of no Religion; and entertain'd even Catho licks in his Service. These Charges dexterously handled in Libels the English General caus'd to be spread abroad had the Effect above mention'd. Some Fanatick Par fons, disaffected to the King, presently came into those Notions, and inspir'd them into others. Seven Persons were of that Mind, as was almost all the Bod commanded by Ker and Straughan. These, in a Paper they call'd a Remonstrance, complain'd, that the Mis fortune of the Defeat at Dunbar, and the Loss of Edinburg had been occasion'd, by the Faithfuls rashly entering in to Society with the King, and his Malignants, before they had given any Proofs of a found Conversion. Parliament was at a Stand, how to suppress that Muting and had Ker been of his Comrade's Humour, that Spar

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of Discord would have broke out into a great Flame. Ker fortunately prov'd either averse to Rebellion, or easy to return to his Duty. Some Reports went abroad as if he were disloyal; but it is likely he clear'd himself, or if he was tainted, he recover'd, and had a Pardon for wavering. However that was, he prov'd the Instrument for bringing the Troops he commanded to Submission, and had not Straughan made his Escape to Cromwel, Ker had Orders to seize and carry him to St. Johnston's, where the King and Parliament were.

When this Mutiny was over, his Majesty could not 1651. complain of the Behaviour of the Scots, who to assure The King him of their Sincerity, crown'd him solemnly at Scone, srown'd in a January 1651. They afterwards kept his Birth Day, Scotland. In the was most material, they by Act of Parliament bolish'd the very Names of the Factions that had diviled them till then; to the end they might for the sure all joyn in restoring of their Monarch, without ny Distinction of Puritans or Malignants, Scots or English.

They came to themselves too late. During that Crom-Time, the English had taken some considerable Posts; wel's Prond the strong Castle of Edinburgh having no Hopes of gress. Relief, surrender'd upon Articles, after a Siege of three Months. However, the Nation reap'd two considerable Advantages by the Union of their Forces; the one was he detaining of Cromwel during the Winter on this side he Forth; the other, the gaining of the King Time to ay his Designs, and raise Forces to put them in Exeution.

A great Fit of Sickness Cromwel fell into, occasion'd His Sickhrough Vexation that the Rains had obstructed his ta-ness, sing of Sterling, contributed much towards gaining the king and Parliament Leisure to provide for the next Campaign, which it was supposed would afford Action, and prov'd so.

Cromwel was sooner ready to enter upon Action as he His Troops lefign'd, than the King; yet his Majesty was in a Con-pass the lition to obstruct his being so speedy as he had propos'd Forth. to himself. The Royal Army was for the most part compos'd of new rais'd Men, the remainder of those hat escap'd at Dunbar Fight, being slain in an Action, wherein Lambert routed Ker. In order to discipline hose raw Troops, and enure them by Degrees to Ser-

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> vice, the King encamp'd at Torwood, near Sterling, an intrench'd himself there so strongly, that Cromwel, wh came thither on purpose, could not bring him to Battle. Had all others made good their Potts as wella the King, the Usurper's Heat would have had Timen cool, and the Scottish Troops daily increasing, the En lish might have found such Opposition as would have put a itop to their Conquests, and perhaps produc'd Change of Fortune. But those who guarded the Bank of the Forth, next the County of Fife, perform'd m their Duty so well. Overton, an English Colonel, cross that River, near the Mouth of it, with little Opposit on, and intrench'd on the Bank with about 2000 Menh had brought over; till Lambert joyn'd him with the like Number. Sir John Brown, and Major General Ho born, falling on them with about 4000 Men: The ensu'd a hot Ingagement, which lasted a considerable Time; but at length the English got the better, 200 Scots were kill'd on the Spot, and 1200 taken, amon whom was Sir John Brown, who foon after dy'd of h Wounds, or for Grief of his Difafter.

e besieges on.

That Defeat struck a Terror into all the neighbour . John- ing Parts. Inchergarvi, Brunt Island, and several other confiderable Posts, surrender'd immediately, or made but little Refistance. Cromwel too well knew how improve favourable Opportunities, to lose any of the Advantage this might afford him. As foon as ever was acquainted with the new Success of his Troops, left the King's Army, which had made no other Mot on but to encamp before Sterling, where it was mor difficult to attack it than at Torwood, and advanc'd far as St. Johnston's, which he befieg'd, tho' the King h left a Garrison of 2000 Men in it.

The King marches into England.

Whilst Cromwel lay at that Siege, the King acquainte his Council with the Defign he had of marching with his Army into England; hoping that the Diversion should give there would at once deliver Scotland, and cause a Revolution in England. The Scots were hard brought to confent to that dangerous Enterprize, which in case of any Disappointment, lest their Country et pos'd to the Will of the Victors; but the King prevail at last. After giving the necessary Orders for securing of certain Posts, which he thought could not be take by the few English Cromwel might be able to leave

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tland to maintain his Conquests, he set forward from ling on the 10th of August, at the Head of 14000 en, most of them Horse, commanded, under him, by Dukes of Hamilton and Buckingham, the Earls of uderdale and Middleton, David Lefley, Montgomery, mot, Wentworth, and other prime Men of both Nahs. He took the Road to Carlifle, and making at Marches, went far in a little Time; yet his Exlition did but half prevent Cromwel. There had been ne Jealoufy of the King's Defign, and upon the Rert spread abroad, that General, who neglected nong, had detach'd Harrison, with a confiderable flying mp, and Orders to post himself between England and land, so that he might be in the Way to observe his jesty's Motions, and in case he went that Way to beet him on some Passes, where he might stop n, and they that were to follow might gain Time come up.

Both those who had Orders to be before-hand, and Lambert of who were commanded to pursue, perform'd what opposes in y were intrusted with exactly. Lambert, who led vain.

latter, made such an expeditious March, that he ertook the King's Rear at Warrington Bridge, over the sey, where Harrison was posted to dispute the Passe with him. There happen'd a very sharp Ingagent, wherein the King had the better, having forc'd Way over Harrison, and lest Lambert no more Inclinion to follow him. Such Towns as would not surder were pass'd by, those that did, secur'd, of which imber was Worcester, where the King stopp'd to resh his Army, which well deserv'd it, having march'd ove 300 Miles without any Rest.

Whilst the Soldiers rested, the King and the Gene-His Maje-Officers made it their Business to set those Engines sy at Worwork, which produce Revolutions in England. His cester. a jesty writ to the Lord Mayor of London, promising general Pardon to all Rebels for all that was past, expting only the Regicides; and in the same Letter off lovingly press'd his People to return to their Duty. the same Time he publish'd an Order round about breester, commanding all his Subjects that were of Age bear Arms, to repair to, and assist him to recover the

heritance of his Forefathers, which had been usurp'd Regicides.

Neither

feet, and this was the first Time that ever England of His Disaptinu'd settled, having so fair an Opportunity offer'd pointments. sir. His Letter was so ill receiv'd at London, that the

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caus'd it to be burnt by the Common Hangman; his Order avail'd fo little, that it scarce serv'd to rea 2000 Men, that either dy'd by the Way with the tigue, or deserted. Francis, Lord Talbot, Son to Earl of Shrewsbury, worthy of eternal Renown for Action, was one of those that came in to him with Horse. The Earl of Derby was bringing him is from the Isle of Man, but was met at Manchester Party of Parliamentarians, better Disciplin'd thank which were new rais'd; who attack'd, routed, wounded him, so that he had much difficulty to ela through Woods and By-ways, to come offer the Ki inflead of his Forces, his Person and good Will. Se ral Things concurr'd to render the People of England cold towards embracing the better Cause, and ty'd the down to the worse, contrary to their natural Inclinati to change; but nothing contributed fo much towards structing a Revolution, which seem'd to be so near, Cromwel's Celerity. At St. Johnston's, which was in render'd to him, he had receiv'd Intelligence of

Preparati-King's entering England. That Place is far up in & ons of the land, and yet all the Country, being so great an Extraction between that Town and London, received the necessity.

Orders from that General in a very few Days. Bei Lambert and Harrison, Fleetwood, Dean, the Lord Gray Groobly, Desborough, and several other Officers of own bringing up, took the Field, and acted in their veral Provinces. The same Spirit, the same Vigo the same Activity, and the same Arts, were every who made use of to keep the People peaceable, and end rage the Soldiers to espouse the worser Cause. every one of those Officers rais'd considerable Bodies Men for Cromwel, he, after leaving Monk with 60 Men, to carry on the War in Scotland, hafted into a land, to animate the Parliament then in a Consternation on account of the King's Approach, and check the ! ple of London, who are always more favourable to the that oppose the Government in being, than to the that have it in their Hands. All was quiet when he dit near, and the City express'd so much Zeal to support

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urper, that a compleat Army march'd out to meet at the Rendevouz. All the Rebel Forces joyn'd ween the Thames and the Severn, where Fleetwood and a caus'd those they had brought from Upton to cross Water, and met those Cromwel brought from Wart, being all-together no less than 60000 fighting

This Army, tho' so numerous, was less formidable The Scots its Strength, than for the Zeal which inspir'd it for would Cause it was ingag'd in. The King's was accus'd of clear themage more indifferent; and some reported that the selves. That betray'd him. They endeavour'd to clear themages in Print, proving that they had not betray'd him, did not sufficiently make out that they had not aken him, and the Blame lighted chiefly on the

alry. romwel lost no Time; but as foon as he had taken Worcester iew of the King's Forces lying about the City, re-Fight. 'd to fight them. On the 3d of September, a Day fato the Scots the Year before on account of the Battle Dunbar, Cromwel attack'd the King's Camp, being Thirds more numerous than his Majesty. He began Powick Bridge, which was guarded by Montgomery, an likely enough to have made it good, but a Wound receiv'd, and which made him withdraw, discoud his Men. They gave Ground, and that Post was n lost. That ill Success made the King resolve to tch out himself, and fall upon the Enemy, in the od on the other fide of the City, with his Foot, b behav'd themselves very well. He at first took. ne Cannon, and had his Horse been more numerous, those he had, fought better, he would have put the lift Army into such Disorder, as might have occan'd a Rout. The Cowardice of the Scottifb Horse ob-Acted the King's making his Advantage of those Monts, which once lost never return again. 'd to retire to the City, where having rally'd those' t fled, he led them on again to prevent the Enemies 'ring the City with them. It might still have been 'd, had not Lesley's Horse, which had suffer'd very le, refus'd the King to go back. Then the Earl of eland, James Hamilton, Careless, and some more of fe that were about his Majesty, and most concern'd his Safety, perceiving the Case was desperate, defir'd

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1651. him to retire, whilst there was Time fo to do, and that Purpose form'd a small Squadron, with which the held the Rebels in play a while at Sudbury Gate. The King, at their Perswasion, drew off in good Time. fooner was he gone, but Fleetwood entering the City Way which in the Confusion had been neglected, oblig thole who still fought to retire to a Fort, where fufing to surrender upon the first Summons, they we forc'd, and all put to the Sword. Thus ended the B tle at Worcester, where by a decisive Victory obtain the English Tyrant cut off the lawful Sovereign for · all Hopes of recovering the Throne, but such as pended on the Protection of him, who needs no other Power but his own to raise and pull down whom pleases. Three Thousand Men flain upon the Field Battle, five Thousand taken, and the rest dispen left the King no other Course to take, but to com himself out of the Kingdom, and even that was not Matter to compass; Cromwel having taken all poll Precautions to prevent his Escape, even to forbidde the Relieving, or Concealing him, upon Pain of Deal and offering a confiderable Sum of Money (a Thoula Pound) to those that should discover him. gers that Prince ran through, and his Adventures making his Escape, are too curious a Part of the flory of the Revolution I am writing, to be omit by me. I deliver them from the written, and ven Accounts of credible Persons, who had them from Mouth.

The King's Escape.

His Majesty left Worcester attended by fifty Horse, which Number were, the Duke of Buckingham, Earls of Derby and Lauderdale, the Barons Talbot a Wilmot. Lefley had joyn'd him with the Horse, whi he pretended to lead back into Scotland; but wheth the King thought he could not perform it, or whether he was out of Conceit with the Scots, when they pass'd Barbon Bridge, he left them, and got as far as could from Worcester, and his Enemies. As long as was near enough to be taken for a Royalift that fledate the Loss of the Battle, he kept his Party together, fear of being insulted by the Peasants, or expos'd the Brutality of any Soldiers that might be fray about for Plunder. When he was pass'd that Dange the difficulty was to find a Retreat, where he mig nd,

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ke some Rest in Safety, and adjust Measures for derting the Kingdom, in case he could not stay in it thout being known. He propos'd it to the Earl of rby, who told him, that after his being defeated by Iburn in Lancasbire, and flying a tedious Way, he ne to a Place, wherea Country Fellow, who had feral Brothers, all of them as forward as himself, had nceal'd him so ingeniously, that no Man had perceiv'd that the Place was call'd Boscobel, not far distant m where they were, near the Edge of Shropshire; at the Country Man's Name was Pendrel, a Man of scretion in his way, confiderate, who wanted not for od Sense, of an untainted Probity, but a Roman Cablick. This last Qualification was none of the least at prevail'd upon the diffressed Monarch to resolve on Boscobel for his Retreat. He had been convinc'd many Examples, that the Catholick Education teachfuch a strict Loyalty to Kings, as is not to be found ong Sectaries; and the Services done him by the Pen-Is at Boscobel were farther Testimonies of that Truth. he Gifford, then in the King's Company, who was of that untry, undertaking to be the Guide, they came late Night to Whiteladies, formerly a Monastery of Nuns the Ciftertian Order, where one of the Pendrels liv'd. cobel is not far from thence, but it is likely his Maly would not go directly thither, for fear so many ould be acquainted with his Place of Retreat. They Is conceatted at Whiteladies, where the Earl of Derby sending ed by the his Hoft William Pendrel, and his Brother Richard, Pendrels. t the King into their Hands, after truffing them with e Secret of his Defeat and Escape, and making them thfully promise they would affist him to their utmost. hele Methods being taken, the King difmis'd his Reue, who were for going to join Lefley, keeping only ilmot, whom he fent to London, resolving to follow n thither. For his Guide he gave him John Pendrel, hird Brother to him he was going to be conceal'd by. When his Majesty had given these Orders, he ren'd himself entirely into the Hands of the Pendrels, ho cut off his Hair, discolour'd his Face and Hands, d put him on an old Suit of Clothes, which sufficientdifguis'd him. This done, without lofing any Time, lead of Boscobel they conceal'd him in a Wood, where ey contriv'd a Hut, in which he liv'd feveral Days. God,

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God, whose Providence particularly watches on Kings, had put it into the Hearts of the Pendrels to on ry his Majetty away from Whiteladies. No fooner w he gone thence, than a Company of Soldiers coming fearch'd the most secret Places, and gave notice, that foon as the Fight at Worcester was over, Cromwel h fent out such Parties every way to seek for the Kin The Rain hinder'd that which came to Whiteladies from ranging about, and gave his Majesty the Opportuni more peaceably to take what little Suffenance and Re his Hofts could procure him in that wild Place. Riche Pendrel brought him a Pillow from his House, and the way call'd a Kinfwoman of his, in whom he cou confide, to bring him some Whitmeats, Butter, Eggs to eat. The King was flartled at the fight of he and not knowing whether Pendrel had entrusted with the Secret, to be fatisfy'd in that Point, he all her, How she durst resolve to be true to one that he been of the King's Party? The Woman did not declar whether she knew the Secret or not; but answer'd, I would be true to him till Death; which Words spoke with such an Air of Sincerity, that the King fer her no more, and made a coarse Meal of what s brought him, which Hunger made more delicioust any Thing he had ever eaten.

When the King had eaten and slept a while, her Madeley. folv'd to go away into Wales, where he had Friend among whom he might stay in Safety, till an Opport nity could be found to conduct him to London, who Wilmot was to expect him. This made him alk Hofts, whether they knew any Body near the Som that would conceal him till he could get over that Rive and Richard answering, that one Wolf who liv'd Madeley, would do him so much Service, and that could answer for his Honesty, the King resolv'd to forward the next Night, as he did, following Rich Pendrel, who was his Guide, a-foot.

They had but fix Miles to go, but the Night was ver dark, and the Way somewhat intricate, and an Ad dent made it still the worse for his Majesty. As the pass'd by a Mill, the Miller hearing the Gate ope which shut the Bridge over a Brook, rush'd out of House, and in a haughty manner ask'd, whither the were going at that unfeasonable Hour, and they

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ing to open the Gate, without answering, he run ward, bidding them stand. Then Pendrel leaving Bridge, ran through the Water, the King following by the Noise his wet Clothes made; for he could lly fee him. The Darkness prevented the Miller's fuit, besides that being very fat, he could make no it speed. Thus they came to Madeley, where Pencommunicating the Secret concerning the King to that loyal Subject did all that lay in his Power to e his Prince. Having conceal'd him the best he d, he went himself to the River to see how Matters d, but found all the Banks fo befet with Soldiers, he went home fully refolv'd to disswade the King n that dangerous Passage. His Majesty believ'd him, return'd with his Guide to Boscobel; went into the Returns to od, and staid in his Hut, whilst Richard observ'd Boscobel. ad, whether there were no Parliament Soldiers it. Going his Round he met one, who agreeably riz'd the King. This was Colonel Careles, one of e brave Men, who to gain his Majesty time to get of Worcester, and make his Escape, went to stop Enemy at Sudbury Gate, where having behav'd nfelves resolutely, as long as they thought it requis for the King to get off, every Man took his own fe, some flying, others surrendring themselves. ess was one of those that fled, of the Country a-Boscobel, knew the Pendrels, and was come to aik e Relief of them in his Distress. The King had one of his Feet, and it put him to much Pain; to ly some Remedy to it, he went at Night to Pendrel's le, but staid no longer than his Foot was bathing, to eat fomething; after which he return'd with less into the Wood, where Pendrel, who never ight his Gueft fafe enough, made him get up into a e Oak, which had a hollow Branch big enough to eal him and Careless. There he slept leaning on faithful Officer, and came not down till conducted Il the hiding Place of Huddlestone, a Catholick Priest, then did his Majesty considerable Service, which emember'd all his Life.

was hard for his Majesty to lie long at Boscobel with Pendrels. being discover'd. A Report was spread abroad, that their Fidekulk'd in those Parts; and one day one of the Pen- lity. going upon some Business to a neighbouring Vil-

lage,

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lage, found some Soldiers there, whose Officer know ving whence he came, question'd him strictly about h King, and promis'd him a great Reward, if he con put him in the way to find the King. Pendrel faulte not the least upon that nice Trial; he kept the Kin Secret; but his Majesty concluding, from this Adva ture, that it could not be fafe for him to stay in a Pla that was suspected by his Enemies to entertain him, folv'd to remove, and lie hid elsewhere. That Pendo who had gone to conduct Wilmot to London, told King of another Place at his return, after acquaining him, that all the most By-Roads to London, were followed of Soldiers, that the Baron could not go, but staid Moseley, at one Mr. Whitgrave's, where he lay in & ty till the Roads should be clearer for him to mo farther.

Goes to His Majesty hearing this News, and perceiving he Moseley. eager his Enemies were to find him out, alter'd hish solution of going to London, for that of departing a Kingdom as soon as possible, and caus'd himself to conducted to Mr. Whitgrave's, where he took leave the Pendrels, who had attended him thither, with a Husband of the Country-woman, who carry'd himself thing to eat, the first Day he lay in the Wood.

Search there for bim. His Majesty found Wilmor at Moseley, but the Plaster they conceiv'd at meeting was allay'd by an important Danger, which much threatned them both. The had not leisure to agree upon the Way and Method the were to take, before a Company of Soldiers appeared Whitgrave's Gate, resolv'd to come in. It was a Maness to resist: Whitgrave hid his Guests, and open'd Doors with such an Air of Assurance, that the Soldie had the less Inclination to make a narrow Search. The same Day the King was fold there had been a Search Whiteladies, where the commanding Officer had seven times clapt a Pistol to the Breast of one of the Pende who liv'd there, to make him discover where the King was.

Removes to The Danger thus daily increasing, his Majesty.

Bentley. folv'd to draw as near the Sea as he could, to be a
Readiness to embark upon the first Opportunity.

ving communicated his Design to Whitgrave, and of
Mr. Lane, a Neighbour of his, and a safe Man, the latter readily undertook to convey the King towar

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ouse at Bentley. Lane had a discreet Sister, who belet into the Secret, by the King's Consent, found e Means to go to Bristol, which his Majesty approv'd and succeeded well. She had a Kinswoman ready Lye-in, at a Place called Norton, near that City. Uncolour of visiting that Kinswoman, Mrs. Lane got a Horseback behind the King, who was in another squise, and pass'd for her Servant. A Woman a reback behind another Man follow'd for Decency, Milmot went with them, carrying a Hawk on his th, and Dogs, like a Falconer.

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During this Journey, which lasted three Days, the Goes to ng met with several Adventures, some of which di Norton. rted, and others made him uneasy. Scarce had he vell'd six Miles, before his Horse losing a Shooe, went himself to the next Village to have him shod, at he might look like the Person he represented. hilst he held up the Horse's Foot, the Smith ask'd in, What News, and whether the King was not yet ten? His Majesty answer'd, without hesitating, hat he had heard nothing of it, but it was likely he is gone back into Scotland. I don't believe it, said the

nith, but rather think he lies conceal'd in England. I wish enew where, for the Parliament has promis'd a Thousand ands to any one that shall discover him.

This disagreeable Dialogue ended with the putting on the Shooe, which being over, the counterfeit Sernt took up his Mistress again, and rode on till they me near Evesbam; where being to cross a Ford on the on, about a Mile from the Town, some of them rceiv'd Horses saddled on the other Side. The King s for going through, but he that guided them ought it not convenient. They took a compass about, t got nothing by it, for they had more Cause to fear; e King and his Company, at two or three Huned Paces Distance, coming in Sight of those very Solers they would have avoided. They came off with ly the Fright. The King went on boldly, and his ompany look'd fo like a Country Family making a fit in the Neighbourhood, that those Soldiers, who ere looking for him, never had the least Notion that was the Man.

Through these and the like Adventures his Majesty made his Way to Norton. He was there look'd upon as Accidents. a Servant; but that he might have a good Bed, and be better us'd than the others, Mrs. Lane, who pass'd for his Mistress, pretended he was troubled with an Ague, and therefore had him lodged in a little Room, where there was a good Bed, and she sent him something to That Fiction gave the King an Opportunity to discover that there was a Loyal Spirit in that Quarter. A Physician coming to see him, and perceiving he was not very Sick, drank the King's Health, and forc'd him to pledge it. The next Day, when he was at Breakfast, a Man, who said he came from Worcester Fight, and had feen the King there, put his Majesty into some Uneasinels, for fear he should know him; but it soon appeard that what he faid was false, when being ask'd about the King's Shape and Mien, whom he affirm'd he had feen Twenty Times, he answer'd very short, He is Four Inches Taller than you.

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Whilst the King was recovering himself of the Fright The King that extravagant Fellow had put him into, another difcreeter Person knew him through his Disguize. This was one Pope, Butler to the Gentleman where he was, who having formerly served under him, when he was Prince of Wales, remember'd his Features too well to be mistaken. He stay'd till they were alone to discover to him, that he knew the Secret. Then casting himself at his Feet, he said, You are the very same, Sir; it was not long before I knew you, and it would be in vain for you to conceal your self from me; you may safely own it. But consider, that others may discover it too, and make haste out of the Way, where so many are fearthing after you, and feeking your Destruction. If I can be serviceable to you, I shall think my self happy. Make Tryal of my Zeal, and rely upon my Loyalty. His Majesty was surpriz'd, and at a Stand with this fresh Accident. He saw the Danger of Trusting a Man he did not know, and of seeming to mistrust one who might make out what he said. In this Confusion, the Sincerity that appear'd in the Man, made him resolve to deal plainly. The Event show'd he had judg'd right. Pope did his Majesty very confiderable Service; and was one of those that contributed not the least towards his Escape. It was he that advis'd him to Windham's House, where that Monarch spent 19

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Days in much Safety, waiting for an Opportunity to 1651.

That was no easy Matter, considering the Measures Report of that were taken; that no Persons unknown should be his Death. shipp'd off; and it was dangerous offering at it, the Massers of Barks, and other Vesselsssuspecting all hose they did not know, to be the King, and fearing the Penaities threatned by the Parliament to all such as should conceal him. A Report was spread abroad of his being dead, which would have secur'd his Life had it held longer; he was inform'd of it by the ringing of Bells; and publick Rejoycing in all the Towns about the Place where he lay conceal'd; but that Notion soon vanish'd; and did not contribute towards facilitating his Tran-

fportation.

That Prince was doubly fortunate, which is very His good rare under those difficult Circumstances I now speak of; Fortune in first in Regard that among so many Persons, most of Adversity. them meanly born, as were entrusted with his Secret, none offer'd to betray him, or was tempted to accept of what the Parliament offer'd for discovering of him; and in the next Place, for that so great a Number of Confidents all ferv'd him with Affection, and omitted nothing that might deliver him out of the Hands of his Enemies. Windham us'd all the Means a mighty Zeal could dictate to a Loyal Subject towards ferving of his King. It was not long fince one Esden, a Merchant; had convey'd the Lord Berkley beyond the Sea, from the Persecution of the Parliament. Windham did not despair of gaining that Merchant, and prevailing on him to do as much for Wilmot as he had done for Berkley. To this purpose he went to Lyme, where Esden liv'd, and discoursing him in private, conjur'd him to do the same Service to a Man of Quality of the Routed Party at Worcester, as he had before done for another: He affur'd him he should carry but two Men, Wilmot having but one Servant with him, of all his Family, fo that it might be done without any Noise, or Danger. Elden, who was obliging, made no Difficulty of doing Windham and Wilmor the Service propos'd, and prefently conducted the former to a Village called Charmon h, to Difapthe Master of the Bark that had carry'd the Lord Berk-pointed of by over. They found him, agreed for the Puffage, ap-his Paffage pointed the Day to go a-board, and a By-place, where

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the Bark was to lye, to take in Wilmot and his Servant. The King came thither punctually, but the Bark did not appear. They flay'd long in Hopes the Master would at least fend Word why he did not come; but all in vain; none came, and all Things being dangerous, they hasted away from a Place, where there could be no Safety for the King. They guess'dat every Thing that might occasion that Disappointment, or Breach of the Master's Promise. No Man hit it, nor was it easy to imagine what had hap'ned. Esden enquir'd and told them, that there had been a Fair at Line the Day before that appointed for imbarking, where the Parliament's Ordinances against fuch as should conceal the King, or help to convey him away, had been publish'd; that thereupon, the Master's Wife, understanding that he was to carry some Persons he would not name to her, over into France, had violently oppos'd him, and the better to prevent it, had lock'd him up as he was going to take fome Linnen he had occasion for aboard.

This Accident oblig'd the King to leave Windham's The King House, without knowing well whither to go. He went in Danger House, without knowing well whither to go. He went in Danger House, Windham, on towards Dorchester, attended by Wilmot, Windham, and one Peters, a Servant of his, who was their Guide. Wilmot's Horse loofing a Shooe by the Way, had like to have discover'd the King. That Lord stopping to have his Horse shod, in a Village where they had lain that Night, the Smith ask'd the Hoffler, whence those Gentlemen came, he answering, they said they came from Exeter; the Smith reply'd, they came farther than that, and that the Shooes the Horse had then on were made in the North. The Hoffler upon these Words reflecting, that the four Horsemen would not have their Horses un-saddled, nor did not go to Bed themselves, concluded thence, that it was likely they might be some Persons of Quality, of the King's Army, routed at Worcefter, and that the King himself might be among them. Upon this Conjecture, he went to the Minister of the Place, a zealous Parliamentarian, and told him what he had fancy'd. It hap'ned fortunately, that the Minister was then at his wicked Prayers, which he would not interrupt; but the Noise of that Accident, told about by the Smith, being spread abroad, the Parson took the Alarm, and gave Notice to the Magistrates. They

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ran to Arms, fearch'd about, and fent out that Way they were gone. The King must have been infallibly taken, had he not turned short upon the Left, instead of going on in the Great Road he was first upon. Hoft, who had a Respect for Windham, and had been his Servant, told him all the Story, which was giving the King Notice to use all possible Precaution to conceal which Way he went, and try all Means to get beyond Both grew daily more difficult, by reason of the many Forces all about the Country, defign'd for the The of Jerley. His Majesty was surrounded by them every Moment, and could not go into any Inn, that was not prefently full of Soldiers and Officers. It can never be sufficiently admir'd that he was not known. He was one Day very fearful of being found out by an Hoftler at an Inn, who was helping him to bring the Horles out of the Stable, for those that pass'd for his Masters, and cry'd out to him in a familiar manner, I have feen you before, and don't think I am mistaken; I am glad to see you These last Words somewhat abated the Fright occasion'd by the first. His Majesty, to be better satisfy'd of his Meaning, ask'd, where he had feen him; and he reply'd, I have feen you at Exeter, in the War time; for I liv'd there two Years. That again perplex'd the King who had commanded at Exeter. His Prefence of Mind stood him in stead, and he answer'd very unconcern'd, tho' making hafte to get up a Horseback and follow his Masters, That it was very true, for he remember'd it, and had then ferv'd one Mr. Porter; and when he came back they should renew their Acquaintance. Thus ended that Discourse, which tho not long, was very uneafy to the Monarch. He difengag'd himself very happily, and went on towards Salisbury, where John Coventry, Son to him that had been Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, provided for his lying conceal'd in a Widow's House, till such Time as Colonel Robert Philips, now his Confident, instead of those that had attended him thither, and were dismis'd, could procure him a Vessel at Southampton. He found one, but by ill Fortune, one of the Companies that were going to Jersey, came and press'd it; so that he was to begin again. Colonel Gunter provided another at Bright. bemsted in Suffex, by means of one Mansel, a rich Mer-The King came and lay in a chant, and his Friend. M 3

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Place near by that Town, in order to be gone without lofing any Time, as foonas the Bark was ready. Manfel brought Tetersbal, the Mafter, thither, whom Wilmot made to sup with him; for he still went for the Maker, and the Monarch for the Servant.

shal.

The first part of the Meal pass'd off, talking of the Is known Voyage they were to undertake the next Day, and the King thought he had no farther Danger to run, but that of his Passage, when the Master unluckily looking on, knew him, and taking the Merchant afide after Supper, faid to him, You have impos'd upon me, and hazarded to ruin me. I know the King, I know him; it is he who is disguis'd like a Servant, and he that looks like his Master is only a Confident to help make his Escape. You must needs know the Proclamation is out, forbidding all Persons to conceal him, and what a Reward is promis'd for discovering The Merchant did all he could to undeceive the Sailor, being willing to be deceiv'd himself; for he did not then question, but that Servant was the King, and therefore was the more hafty to have him aboard. He conjur'd the Sailor, not to regard fuch Fancies, which endanger'd an honest Man, and would bring him into fuch Trouble as must ruin his Trade, and Tetersbal himfelf could reap no other Benefit but the Trouble of having betray'd one that confided in him. Mansel spoke with such Eagerness as gave Wilmot the Curiofity to hear him, verily believing the Discourse concern'd himself. He drew near, and being inform'd what they debated on, feconded what the Merchant faid, with so much Money and fair Promises, that he prevail'd on the Master, without convincing him. It was agreed he should go home directly, get ready his Bark, and fail the next Day. All being thus fix'd, the Master hasted home, and in a hurry ask'd his Wife for his Clothes and Provisions. You are in great haste, said The, why can't you stay till to morrow? And he still prelfing her, Go, said she, I perceive you are about carrying the King over; God speed you, and him too. It is a dangerous Undertaking, but provided you save him, I will be satisfy'd to beg my own and my Children's Bread, as long These Words encouraging him, Tetersbal order'd his Affairs that the Bark might be ready to fail the next Morning by Five of the Clock. It was done accordingly, and the Bark came at the Time appointed to

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167 to the Place, where it was to take in his Majesty. Wilmot went aboard, attended by the King, still in his Difguife, and by those who help'd to procure him that Vef- Imbarks. fel. They took their Leave very affectionately, and then Maniel going up to the King, took him by the Hand and kiss'd it, saying, Sir, I was willing your Majefty should deceive me: God send you safe to your Port, and that you may foon return to reign in Peace over your Kingdoms. The King answer'd smiling, that whensoever that should come to pass, he would remember the Service he had so generously done him. Being aboard with him that pass'd for his Master, they put to Sea, and fail'd all the Day fo fuccessfully, that at Night they Lands in reach'd Fecamp, whence his Majesty proceeded to Paris, France.

and arriv'd there on the 30th of Odober, 1651.

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Whilst the lawful Sovereign with so much difficulty Cr mfav'd his Life, the Usurper reap'd the Fruits of his wel's Trie Victory in Peace. London had receiv'd him in trium-umphs at phant Manner, and all Societies had flatter'd him with home, the pompous Title of Father of the People, and Deliverer of his Country. Above 5000 Prisoners had grac'd his Triumph; very few of those that escap'd from the Fight having mis'd falling into the Hands of the Parliament Forces, which befet all the Roads. Thus, excepting only the Duke of Buckingham, Talbot, Leviston, and some few others, who had as good Fortune as the King, and cross'd the Sea, almost all the Great Men on the King's Side were made Prisoners. Duke Hamilton, the Earls of Derby and Lauderdale, Colonel Massey, Montgomery, Middleton, and Lefley, were of that Number. Duke Hamilton dy'd of his Wounds; the Earl of Derby was beheaded. Cromwel caus'd the Parliament to grant all the rest a General Pardon, but with such dubious Clauses, as left him the Liberty of excepting any that were against his Interest.

The Re-union of all Parts of the British Monarchy un- And as der the Government then establish'd, the News where-broad, of was brought the Usurper one upon another, after his Victory, would have render'd this the most conspicuous Year of all his Life, had it not been his Fate to ad-

vance in Prosperity till his Death.

Monk, left by him in Scotland, puffi'd on that Con-Scotland quest with such Vigour, that as soon as Cromwel wasreduc'd, gone, Sterling was furrender'd to him, Dundee was

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other Place durit withstand him. In the mean while, Alured defeated the Earl of Leven, and other Lords that kept the Field. The Marquisses of Argyle and Huntley, the Earls of Glencarn and Athol, who were the last that submitted; but some being overthrown by Morgan, and others by Necessity, they all yielded to the Conquerors, and with them to their common Master.

And Ire-

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Ireland held out longer, as not having expos'd its Forces, like Scotland, to the Hazard of a Battle; and had they been well united, could the Catholicks, who were most numerous, and the Protestant Royalists have agreed among themselves; Ireton, as able a Man as he was, could not have subdu'd them. He made his Advantage of their Divisions, and attacking them featonably, when weaken'd by Discord, took from them Waterford, Duncanon, Athlone, and laftly, Limerick. After this last Conquest he ended his Days, a Man for his extraordinary Talent for Bufiness, and for Villany, worthy the Place he held in Cromwel's Esteem, and Alliance. After his Death Coot took Galway, and fo all Ireland fell under the Dominion of the Tyrants, Fleetwood was made Governor of that Island, and was doubly Succeffor to Ireton, by marrying his Widow.

Scotland and Ireland united to England.

From that Time forward, those two Nations, tho' never so unwillingly, continued submissive to the new erected Power. Some little Commotions there were afterwards in both of them; but Monk in Scotland, and Fleetwood in Ireland, took such good Order, that none stirr'd without suffering for it; and at last Ireland, and even Scotland, which had struggled so hard to avoid being united to the English Monarch, when govern'd by Kings, were brought to it under an English Commonwealth, set up by a private Man.

Islands Submit.

The Islands depending on the Three Kingdoms follow'd their Example. Man, Jersey, Gernsey, the Orcades, own'd the new Power, without much Compulsion. Some Forts in Jersey held out, but expecting no Relief they yielded to Force, and surrender'd.

Crom.
wel's Am-

Thus Cromwel re-united all Parts of the Dominion more closely than ever they had been; for having been difmember'd upon the Fall of their Sovereign, they were link'd together again by him that had cast him down to raise

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raise himself into his Place. He was already in Possessian on of the Authority, the Power, and the Profits; but still he wanted something which he would needs add. The Title of General he enjoy'd gave him no farther Character than to command the Army, he wanted a Title that would give him Power over both the Army and Parliament. His Policy towards the English was to attract Honour, and not to invade it; for he knew their Genius to be equally Prodigal in bestowing against Discretion, and in refusing contrary to Justice, according to the Impression made on them.

The artful Tyrant knew so well how to bring about His Arts. such a Design, when all Things were sitly dispos'd for the Purpose; that instead of being oblig'd to rouse up the People, he pretended to restrain them; and thus whilst he satisfy'd the Ends of his Ambition, he gain'd Applause for his Modesty. According to this Scheme, perceiving that the Parliament through long Use of talking in a Sovereign Manner, made Advances towards engrossing that Power, he resolv'd to Dissolve them, as fearing, that in the Disposition they were, those Republicans would scarce consent to his assuming a Title which would give him a Superiority over them.

There having been no Union between the Army and The Army the Parliament but what Cromwel had cunningly made jealous of and supported; it was easy for him to break it; and by the Parliafetting those two great Bodies at variance, to employ ment. the one for the Destruction of the other. To this Purpose he only needed to give way to a private Jealousy the Army had conceiv'd against the Parliament; the former complaining, that the latter dispos'd of all Things at Will; that they distributed among themselves all Employments of confiderable Value; that they play'd the Kings, and instead of one, England had then many, who made much less Account of the Laws, than the other they had made away with; that they embru'd the Kingdom in Blood, upon pretence of punishing those who oppos'd the Government, but in reality to fatisfy their own private Revenge; that they endeavour'd to perpetuate themselves in an Employment which ought to be but for a Time, that so all the good Subjects of the State might share in it; that the Parliament ought to be dissolv'd, and a new Representative chosen by the

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1652. univerfal Confent of the People, according to the Scheme laid when Monarchy was abolish'd to set up a Common wealth.

The Divi-

These Complaints, which Cromwel had suppress'd, as long as it was convenient for him not to break off the beightned. good Understanding between the Parliament and the Army, broke our as foon as it was for his Interest to have them divided; and as foon as vented, produc'd the intended Effect. The Parliament answer'd in a haughty Manner, that it did not belong to the Army to meddle with the Civil Government; that it was their Duty to obey the Orders given by them; and that if they did not keep within the Bounds prescrib'd them. they should want neither Means, nor Courage to reduce them. This Haughtiness provok'd those People of a rough Protession, and both Sides grew hot. The Parliament was for disbanding part of the Army, under Colour that fo great a Number of Troops was too expenfive for the State, and then disperse the rett, leaving but one Half in London, and distributing the rest in several Parts to observe the Royalists. The Army loudly protested, they would neither confent to the lessening of their Number, nor the dispersing of their Body, and publish'd a Declaration, wherein, after laying down their Grievances and Demands, they requir'd a speedy Answer.

Difputes

The People hated the Parliament, and the Parliament about Go- was fensible that if they were not supported by the Peocornment. ple, the Army would foon be uppermost, For this Reason it was necessary to comply, and consent that fome Form of Representative should be thought of to fucceed that Assembly; and what they could not carry by a high Hand they hop'd to compass by Policy. It was agreed that 12 Deputies of the Army, and as many of the Parliament, should endeavour to fix that Reprefentative. In fine, they met, but those of the Parliament did fo protract the Time, by objecting the Laws of the Nation against all Forms of Government which were not to their Mind; that after rejecting many, they were about concluding by plurality of Votes, that they would leave the Parliament as it then was, only substituting new Members in the Places of those that were dead, or should die for the future.

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Cromwel, and the Forces, whose Designs would be quite ruin'd by that Project, resolv'd to oppose it; and that General, who till then had look'd upon those De-Cromwel bates, without seeming to espouse either Side, declar'd turns the openly for the Army. His Declaration was foon fol-Parlialow'd by the Ruin of the Parliament, One Day when ment out of they were Sitting according to Custom at Westminster, he went thither, with some of the prime Officers of the Army, and a few Soldiers; and going roundly into the Houle, in an angry threatning Tone, said, You have impos'd upon the People too long, and grow Rich under Colour of Reforming the Gavernment. You should fit here for the publick Good, but you think of nothing but your own Interest. You have been put into this Place to establish a Commonwealth, and you undermine the very Foundations of it, by appropriating all Things to your selves. You have hitherto deceiv'd us, but our Eyes are open, and we are resolv'd to be your Tools no longer. Be gone quickly, and since you fill up this Place so unworthily, make Way for honester Men than your felves. These last Words were spoken with fuch Boldness, as struck a Terror into all that As-They continu'd in a difmal Silence, and one of them directing his Discourse to the General, and presuming to say, It was not Justice to run down the In. nocent as well as the Guilty; Cromwel immediately stepp'd up, and laying hold of three or four of them successively by the Cloaks, said to one of them, You are a Knave; You are a Sot, to another; You are a lewd Fellow; You are a faithless Man, to a third and a fourth, and thus drove them all out shamefully. The Speaker fitting still, Harrison pull'd him out of his Chair; which done, Cromwel declar'd the Parliament was Disfolv'd, lock'd up the Doors, and put up a Bill, This House is to This Scorn added to the Infult, render'd all the Members of that Affembly as Contemptible as they were before Odious, exposing them to the Poets Satyrs, and the Jests of common Wits, whill the generality of the People and the Army loaded them with The Council of State was diffolv'd as well as His Practithe Parliament; and thus Cromwel a second Time became ces to benot only Supreme, but the Creator of a Government. come Abfor-It was even in his Power to give it fuch a Form as was lute. most agreeable to his Defigns, and to take upon him such a Character as he thought fit. The Army, whose Party

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he had espous'd, and the People, become more submis. five to him after that bold Stroke, were ready to confent to any Thing. For the more Safety he thought it convenient not to be too hafty. Having made himself acceptable, he refolv'd to show that he was necessary, and to put Things into such a Condition, that it should be a Favour in him to accept of what they should be ne. cessitated to confer on him, instead of being himself oblig'd, by demanding that which was not his Due. The Method he us'd to attain this End, was pretending a mighty Affection for a popular Government; expresfing a great Aversion, not only against Monarchy, but even against Aristocracy, and proposing a suitable Son of Representative. The Faction which was for a Popular Government being much the strongest, the Proposal met with the greater Applause, in regard that the fincere Republicans had been, till then, jealous of his extraordinary Power. The Representative Body he invented, at once dispell'd all their Fears. They subfcrib'd the more readily to his Projects, because he feem'd to make it his Bufiness to comply with others. Thus at his Infligation an Affembly of 148, of all Sects, all Counties, and all Conditions, was form'd. Cromwel prefided in the Election, which was made by the Officers of the Army, according to his Direction. It was none of his Defign that they should chuse able Men; excepting a small Number of his own Creatures, whom he foisted into this Gang, to have an Eye upon the rest. Under Colour of picking out the honest Men, he pick'd up a parcel of People of no Note, no Birth, no Learning, and no Experience, most of them of those Fanatick Sects England swarms with, which are govern'd by a mad Zeal, and pretend to be inspir'd.

Barebone's Parliament. It was then order'd, That their Authority should continue for fix Months. It was long debated, what Name they should assume, and at last concluded, it should be that of the Parliament of England. Cromwel, who turn'd all Things to serve his own End, was well pleas'd that an Assembly, which he foresaw would become Contemptible to the Nation, should assume a Name, which he intended to render Contemptible.

They are This Piece of Policy succeeded in every Particular acperswaded cording to the Scheme laid by the fortunate General. 20 Resign. As soon as the new Parliament began to exercise their

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Authority, there immediately appear'd in all they did, and much more in what they would have done, if not prevented, fo much Incapacity, and fuch an extravagant Conduct, that all Mankind cry'd out either to ridicule or complain of them. The People were as first satisfy'd with Talking, but at length they rais'd a Clamour, and that Clamour having brought Matters to the pals the General defir'd, in order to produce the intended Effect, those Friends he had in the Parliament play'd their Parts fo well, as to perswade the Majority to make no other Use of their Authority, but to resign it up to Cromwel. The Errors committed by the Assembly, the Contempt it was fallen into, and the Despair of correcting the Extravagancies of some Members, whose Behaviour render'd the rest contemptible, were the Motives for abdicating that Power they knew not how to use. The General's Capacity, his Experience, and the Affection of the People, were the Reasons propos'd for putting of it into his Hands.

The continu'd Success of the English Arms under his Direction, in the War then carry'd on against the War. States of Holland, added to his Reputation. This War, which had been kindled by degrees upon mutual Discontents about Trade, and the entertaining of the King in Holland, began by an accidental Engagement between Blake and Van Tromp, on account of Saluting and Striking; the Dutch-man refusing to submit to the other. The Event of the Battle then fought was doubtful enough, each of them claiming the Victory, according to the Genius of those Narions; and the same happen'd in four or five fuch Fights that were between them fuccessively; but at last the English Fleet gain'd great Advantages over the other, the Dutch Admiral was kill'd, and the States, at the time I now speak of, su'd for Peace at London, and had Ambassadors there to that purpole.

The Honour of this Success was divided between Resolution Cromwel and Blake, one of which had acted, and the to fet up other directed; and this fresh Accession of Reputation Cromwel. to the General did not a little advance the Intrigues carry'd on by his Friends, to perswade the Parliament to relign up the Government to him. The Inferior Officers of the Army, who had conceiv'd Hopes of having their Shares therein according to their Posts, at first

feem'd

feem'd to oppose that Resolution; but Lambert, who thought himself likely to succeed Cromwel, manag'd them so well, that they permitted the Parliament to proceed. It was resolv'd; the General should be defir'd to take upon him the Care of the Government, without any Companions or Affiltants. It was next debated under what Title he should receive it, and the English being as extravagant in their Complaifance as they are in opposing their Governors, the Business ran so high, that some were for making him King.

Cromwel afraid to accept of the Crown

Some fay Cromwel was not at all indifferent as to the Title of King, and that a Crown charm'd him as much as it does other Men. If he lay under that Temptation, that Strength of Reason which made him over. come it shews a sublime Genius, which would have ren der'd him worthy of that Political Superiority the Pea. ple had given him over them, had it been in their Power to give, or in his to accept without doing wrong. those who say he was inclin'd to be a King, add at the fame time, that he forbore, when he reflected, that the Pretence of publick Liberty, and the Hatred he had instill'd into the People against Kingly Government, had gain'd him that Reputation he stood posses'd of among the English; and therefore, if he became a King himself, he should overthrow the Foundation his Power was rais'd on, and build a Structure on Sand, which the first Storm of Advertity would overturn; that he should by that fingle Action break through all his Maxims and Promifes, and appear quite another fort of Man; whereupon all Persons altering their Opinion of, and Behaviour towards him, after looking on him as the Affertor of the publick Liberty, they would regard him as an Usurper of the Regal Power, which would thereby recover many Friends, because if there must be a King, the lawful one would appear the best; that the Regal Authority would never be more circumscrib'd than under the Title of a King, against whom the People food upon their Guard; and whose Privileges were restrained by Laws; which might be evaded under another Title.

Declar'd

These were the Conclusions of a refin'd Policy, which Protector, made Cromwel overcome or prevent the Temptation of being a King. Modesty, the publick Good, the Defire of preserving to the English that precious Liberty he had labour'd to acquire them, were the Motives he pretended

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tended for rejecting of that Proposition. He was satisfied 1653. with the Dignity of Protector of the Commonwealth, and under that Name was invested with the Power of governing alone; of calling and diffolving Parliaments; of making Peace and War; of making and appointing Officers and Magistrates; of conferring Titles and Honours; of iffuing Proclamations; of bestowing Fayours; of paffing Decrees; of granting Pardons; of making or breaking Alliances with foreign Princes, and in short, of doing all that the Sovereign Authority entitles Monarchs to do, bating some small Limi ations, which he confented should be inserted into the Act for his Promotion, in order to continue some Shew of a Democratical Government, or the Shadow of a Republick, to impose upon the People.

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As he could not deceive all Mankind, fo neither could His Policia he prevent the forming of many private Conspiracies as gainst him, and of some Parties that might have ruin'd him, had he been less watchful to discover, or less vigorous in suppressing them. He had Spies and zealous Emissaries in all Places, from whom nothing could be conceal'd. Few confiderable Families were without a Pensioner of his. He had corrupted Manning, who was near about the King, and gave him Intelligence of all that Prince's Defigns. By good Fortune he was discover'd, and made away, as so traiterous a Servant deferv'd; but before he was found out, Cromwel had by his Means disappointed a powerful Confederacy form'd against him, by two or three formidable Factions. The Royalists and Republicans had conspir'd together to ruin him, and their different Interests had not obstructed their acting in concert against him, whom they look'd upon as their common Enemy. The Protector had such timely notice of their Proceedings, that none could flir without meeting his Punishment. Such as were taken in Arms fuffer'd Death; those who were not Plots aarm'd, committed to Goals, where such of them as gainst him. were not transported to the Plantations, continu'd a long time, expecting Death or Liberty. This Conspiracy was to Cromwel a hundred-headed Hydra, which he was feveral Years cutting off; for still fresh ones sprung up, which made him uneasy, and temper'd the Satisfaction he had in ruling with many Fears and Vexations. But

so prevalent was the Defire of Rule in him, that there

The History of the Revolutions in England.

never appear'd the least Inclination of purchasing his Safety at the Price of his Ambition. He was not weary of his Life, and therefore us'd all Means to secure it against the Contrivances of the Conspirators; but still he was more in love with his Fortune than his Life, and consequently ventur'd the cutting of it short, that he might die at the Helm of Government.

In vain did a Parliament, in which the Spirit of and The Par- Affection for a Commonwealth were again reviv'd, atliament a-tempt to contend with him about continuing the Power gainst him he was possess'd of. He had himself conven'd that Asfembly in the Year 1655. by the Authority given him as Protector. He expected to have found nothing there but Submission to his Will, and the better to bring that about had only summon'd the House of Commons. He found himself much mistaken, when after having in a lofty Speech expos'd the Confusion the Nation was in, before the Government was committed to his Charge, and the flourishing Condition it was brought into by his Management; instead of returning Thanks, according to the usual Custom, a profound Silence was obferv'd, and they began the Session by chusing for their Speaker the same Lenthal, who had been so in the Parliament fo shamefully dissolv'd by Cromwel in the Year This Beginning was followed by another Step still more offensive to the Protector, which was a particular Examination of the Act by virtue of which he bore that Title, and of the Powers annex'd to it. His Friends and Creatures exclaim'd against that Examination, alledging, that they ought to look upon that Att as the very Foundation of the Government, which it was not lawful to retrospect into; but what soever they could fay, the others proceeded upon that Point, and the Act was harangu'd against, as an open Oppression, contrary to the publick Liberty. Some one had the Boldness loudly to declare, that fince they came so near to Monarchical Government, it were much better to continue it in the Royal Family, which had been in polfession of it, than to confer it on a private Person, who could pretend no Right to it.

He pro tracis time.

The Protector foon had an account of these Proceedings and Speeches, and did not fleep upon it, but went to the Parliament, and made a bold Harangue; but that failing of the intended Effect, he resolv'd to have recourle to me not per Lor men to f we

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recourse to such violent Remedies as he was well acquainted with. The next Day he caus'd fome Troops to be posted upon the Avenues that led to the Parliament House, and order'd those who commanded them, not to permit any one to pals without first figning a Paper, containing these Words, I will be faithful to the Lord Protector, and will not Suffer the Form of Government under a single Person to be alter'd. Some were loath to fign that which they were not willing to do; others were not so nice, and fign'd what was requir'd of them, with a Resolution to do nothing but what they pleas'd themselves. Thus that Parliament was a long time divided into two Factions, one of which was for confirming, the other for leffening Cromwel's Power and Authority. Verbal Contests deciding nothing on either side, he still exercis'd the Power they were for abridging him, thus running off the Time appointed for the new

Parliament to fit.

It was happy for the Protector, that his Enemies Diffoliest could not in five Months that Affembly was to fit, bring his Parliament.

to Maturity a Defign well enough concerted to have ment. They had engag'd a confiderable Part of ruin'd him. Their Measures were well enough conthe Army. certed. They were to feize and impeach him before the Parliament, where he was to be try'd as the Subverter of that Liberty, which the People of England had purchas'd by Suppressing of Monarchy. The Conspirators waited an Opportunity to declare successfully; but whilft they expected, were prevented. Pride discover'd them; the 5 Months were elaps'd, and Cromwel diffolv'd the Parliament, and broke the Officers of the Army that had been concern'd in the Plot. The Danger he had escap'd made him take surer Measures than he had done before to continue his Power. He made several Reguilations, and those very useful for the Civil Government, for the Reformation of Manners, and even for Religion; for he affected to show an extraordinary Zeal in things relating to the Service of God, which deceiv'd the People. He punish'd Blasphemers with the utmost Severity, and caus'd Sunday to be kept with fuch Rigour, as might make Catholicks blush, and be a Pattern to devout Persons; he himself always acting the godly Part, and preaching to others. Luxury, Games, and publick Shews were restrain'd by severe Laws; and those he

1655. enacted for the Administration of Justice, were no less for his Honour.

Courts all Sects.

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Whilst he thus regulated the publick Behaviour, he labour'd to gain the Good-will of all Men in particular, using all those Means he thought most proper to please those he defign'd to bring over to his Party. He carry'd himself in such manner amidst that monttrous Diversity of Sects, which have divided England fince the Roman Religion was banish'd, that no one of them thoughtit felf destitute of Favour in him. According to his Dispo. fition, all Religions in themselves were indifferent to him; with respect to Politicks, the Episcopal Party and the Puritans were naturally his Enemies, the former as Royalists, and the latter as Republicans. He persecuted the first of them openly, they not being so much as tolerated, and only proceeded against the others privately and under-hand. At this time he had some Friends among the Bishops of the Church of England, whomhe feem'd to have a Respect for; and permitted their Followers to meet privately to perform the Divine Service after their Way. He behav'd himself much after the fame manner towards the Catholicks, whom he never Places, to please the People, and be thought a zealous Protestant by all forts of Sectaries. He was even less averse to the Catholicks than to the Church of England, and an Historian of that Sect complains that the Jesuits never did the Reformation more Harm, and gain'd more Converts to their Church, than during his Government. Helaugh'd, as well as other Men, at Fanaticks, as Quakers, and fuch like Mad-men, which the Spirit of Error has caus'd to abound in England in these latter Ages; however he was kind to them, and was willing they should think themselves worthy of his Protection. Having proceeded to far in Hypocrify, as to counterfeit Inspiration, those Sects, which take their own wild Imaginations for heavenly Motions, did not look upon him as remote from their Principles and Do-Etrines, and that Conceit made them adhere to him. The Independents were his favourite Sect; but he was still more Independent than they, and really of no Sect, that he might the better manage them all. The outward Zeal he pretended to, for uniting all the Subjects of the British Commonwealth in the same Profession of Faith,

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Cromwel was no less industrious to have Creatures of 1656. his own among all forts of Conditions. Fair Promiles Fawns upand popular Behaviour were the most usual Baits he laid on all Des to draw them to him; for he bestow'd solid Favours on grees. few, referving them for himfelf and Family. Bating hat, he scarce omitted any thing that might please; he us'd all forts of Complaifance, and could fuit himfelf to all Humours and Tempers. Among the Godly he play'd the Zealot, was polite among the Nobility; and hunted with the Country Genlemen. He us'd at certain times to kill Deer in his Parks, and distribute them mong the Country People of the Neighbourhood, with some little Money. They who had seen him among the Army-Officers and the Soldiers, would have thought he had always liv'd among them, and understood no other Profession, so great was his Familiarity with them, so naturally did he fall into their Way of Discourse, and oin with them in Interest, Diversion, and even in

Whilft Cromwel by his Artifices gain'd the Affections Arbitrary of such as were dispos'd to be deceiv'd by him, he was Proceedno less vigilant over the Actions of others, and continu-ingst ally invented new Ways to discover all Plots contriv'd against him. Great Service was done him by 14 Major Generals, whom he fent into several Parts, with extraordinary Power. The Colour he made use of for so doing, was the raising a new Imposition on all those that had born Arms for the King, impos'd by his own Authority, as if he had wanted Money. He fent those Major Generals to raise that Tax; but at the same time order'd every one of them to observe exactly all that was done within their several Districts, and to send him an Account. Thus was he foon acquainted with every thing that happen'd throughout England, where those Majors grew to formidable, that he was at last afraid of them himself, and after having made use of them to form a Parliament, which was demanded of him, and he could no longer refuse, to his own Mind, he recall'd them, and suppress'd that Imployment:

The Protector had this Bout taken all the necessary Precautions to have a Parliament for his Turn; and

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accord.

1657. accordingly had all the Satisfaction he could expect from this, which met in the Year 1657. He had call'd toit

Parlia- 30 Scots, and as many Irifo, to represent the whole Body ment offers of the fine Commonwealth, whose Head he was. That Cromwel Assembly apply'd it self altogether to flatter him, and the Crown. proceeded so far in it, as to press him earnestly against accept of the Crown, and take upon him the Title of

accept of the Crown, and take upon him the Title of King; but the same Reason which made him resuse it the first time being still in sorce, he held his sormer Resolution, and was satisfy'd with having the Protector ship continu'd to himself, and made hereditary in his

Family.

Plots dif-

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Cromwel's counterfeit Modesty in refusing the Crown offer'd him by this Parliament, increas'd the Number of Fools that were deceiv'd by his Diffimulation; but ·his open Ambition, which appear'd more manifest that ever to all Men of Sense, in the Act that made the Title of Protector descend to his Children, provok'd the Re publicans again. Lambert having now loft all Hopes of fucceeding him, privately favour'd them. The Royalifts thinking to make their Advantage of the new Divifion among the King's Enemies, prepar'd for another Insurrection, during which the King himself was to go over into England to countenance his Friends. The Protector's Emissaries soon acquainted him with those Intrigues; as many as were suspected to have a handin them were taken up, and few of those that could be convicted escap'd unpunish'd. Lambert himself was dilgrac'd, and his Commission given to Fleetwood, who was newly come out of Ireland, the Protector having fen Henry his second Son to succeed him.

Cromwel thrown and dragg'd.

An Accident had like to have done that in a moment, which could not be brought about by so many powerful Parties, and private Conspiracies, in several Years. The Duke of Holstein had presented Cromwel with a very fine Set of Horses, who to shew a Sprightliness little becoming his Age, and much less his Dignity, got into the Coach-box to make trial of them: As soon as he was seated the Horses ran away, threw the Possilion and him, so that his Clothes hanging either to the Pole, or Wheel, he was dragg'd a long time, and far. The Danger of the frequent Conspiracies enter'd into against his Life, having prevail'd with him to carry Fire-Arms privately about him, a Pistol he then had went off, the Report

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1657.

Report whereof made the Horses the wilder. However, that fresh Spring help'd to get him loose, and the Wheels having miss'd his Body, he was lest stretch'd out upon the Ground. He was thought to be dead; but came off with several Hurts and Contusions, which were some Time in Cure.

The Tyrant's Hour was not yet come, and it was his His Pro-Fate to be fortunate as long as he liv'd. God had de-Sperity. creed to make him an Example of the vain Prosperity which blinds the Wicked; his Power still encreas'd till his End; and could Honour be confistent with a Villain rais'd by the Murder of a King, he had dy'd the most renown'd Man in Europe. Being Master of three Kingdoms, he beheld all the neighbouring States contending for his Friendship. Holland had purchas'd a Peace upon hard Terms; the King of Portugal courted him, tho' affronted by him in the Person of his Minifter; whose Brother having kill'd a Man, had been executed at London, without any Favour shown. Northern Crowns had done the fame; and that which pleas'd Cromwel's Pride more than all that, the Monarchies of France and Spain, not being able both to enter into Alliance with him, had fu'd for the Preference, which the former obtain'd.

Spain had been forwardest; the Catholick King was Spain first the first crown'd Head that own'd the Commonwealth owns the of England. France had at least the Honour to be first ap-Commonply'd to, and even to reject some Proposals that seem'd wealth.

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The Queen Regent had the Reputation of that Acti-The Queen on, which happen'd thus. At the Time when Cromwel of France was preparing to make War upon the States, the Count rejects D'Estrades, fince Mareschal, and then Governor of Dunkirk, was block'd up there by the Spaniards. He saw liance. a Siege coming on, and no Appearance of any Relief, the Civil War continuing in France, and the Queen, who had been oblig'd to send away Cardinal Mazarine, having Occasion for her Forces elsewhere, for the Design she had in Hand of Re-calling that Minister. The Protector taking the Advantage of that Opportunity, sent over to Dunkirk, and propos'd a Treaty to the Count D'Estrades, by which he offer'd the Queen to maintain a Land Army, and 50 Men of War for her Service; if she would give him that Town, which she was not able

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to keep. The Count gave Cromwel's Meffenger an ill Reception, and threaten'd to throw him into the Sea, ever he made him fuch a Proposal again; but however did not omit to give the Queen an Account of it. The Court was then at Poitiers, where the Cardinal, who tho' banish'd, was still advis'd with, being inform'd the Treaty propos'd by the Protector, prefs'd her Ma jetty to accept of it, as a fure Means to establish her Au. thority against the Factions. The Queen Regent had many Reasons to induce her to follow this Advice, and that of facilitating the Cardinal's Return was a confiden able one. However, she did not comply. The Scruple of putting a Catholick Town into the Hands of a Prote stant Nation, and ent'ring into an Alliance with the Usurper of a Throne, which belong'd to a Grandsond Henry the IVth, prevail'd then with that religious Prin cels above all other Confiderations. The Proposal was rejected; and consequently Dunkirk taken, which did not return under the Dominion of France in a long Time, and after several Treaties.

The Alli-France.

The Affairs of the French Court having taken another Turn, through feveral Intrigues, which are not for cluded with my Purpose, so that the Cardinal was re-call'd, and the Prince of Conde, his implacable Enemy, oblig'd to go over to the Spaniards; the Cardinal becoming more ab folute fince his Return, than he had been before, made the Queen Mother sensible of the Danger she brough the Kingdom into through her Scruple of entering in to an Alliance with England, whilft Spain us'd all polfible Means to ingage the Protector to joyn the Forces of both Nations, in order to take Boulogn and Calan. Cardenas had fet that Negotiation on Foot, and the Marquis de Lede was then at London carrying it on France then laid afide all those Considerations, which had fo long obstructed her treating with Cromwel, to reflect upon that Danger. Decency gave way to fuch an urgent Necessity. The Prefident of Bourdeaux was fent Ambassador to London to offer the Alliance with France, which the Protector preferr'd before that of Spain; but deferr'd to accept of it, that he might purchase it the cheaper, and the more, that Europe might have Time to behold a Spectacle fo pleasing to his Pride, as it was to have the two greatest Monarchs in the World contend. ing for his Friendship. The Substance of his Treaty with

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with France was, that he should furnish 6000 Land Men, and 50 Sail of Men of War, to take the Maritime Towns belonging to the King of Spain in Flanders; upon Condition that Dunkirk should be put into his Hands when taken, and what was most grating, that the King of England and the Duke of York should be oblig'd to depart France. Those who alledge other Reasons besides urgent Necessity, to save the Cardinal's Reputation on this Score, say, There was a secret Article between that Minister and the Protector, in the Treaty, by which the English were oblig'd to restore Dunkirk to France, for the Sum of Money afterwards actually given for it. However that was, the Town was then taken, and deliver'd to the English.

Vicecount Turenne, who commanded the French Army and the English Auxiliaries, began with Bourbourg Turenne and Mardyke, which took up the Campaign of the Year takes Dun-1657. The Month of June following gain'd him Dun-kirk, and kirk, and the Battle on the Downs, more Honourable routs Don to that great Commander than any of the other Victo-John of ries he obtain'd in his Life, for defeating an Army there Austria. in which the Prince of Conde fought with his utmost Bravery, tho' not so successfully as at other Times, because under the Conduct of another; Don John of Aufiria, and the Marquis de Caracena, having the chief Command of his Catholick Majesty's Forces in Flanders. The Duke of York was there in Person. He had serv'd in the French Troops till the Alliance with England, and gain'd much Reputation. The fame Necessity that induc'd the French Ministers to enter into the Alliance with the Protector, had oblig'd him to change his Side; the Bravery he show'd in the Battle abovemention'd redoubled the Concern of the French for having loft

The English were much rejoyc'd to be put into Pos-Jamaica fession of Dunkirk, and it added much to Cromwel's Re-taken, and putation, whose Successes seem'd to multiply the nearer the Spahe drew to his End. Of two Squadrons he had sitted nish Fleet out, to carry on the War against Spain, the one commanded by Pen and Venables, had some Time since taken the Island of Jamaica, in the West Indies; the other under Blake had newly burnt the Spanish Fleet, in the Port of Santa Cruz.

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This was the Posture of Cromwel's Affairs, when he was feiz'd by an Ague, which at first feem'd slight, but Cromwel turning to a Tertian, verify'd the Scripture Oracle. falls fick. that the Joy of the Hypocrite is but a Point. Such he continu'd to the last Moment, counterfeiting Godliness till Death, without being really fo when he dy'd; for feveral Historians inform us, that, tho' he found himself very ill; tho' his Physician told him he was in much Danger; yet he ventur'd to deliver a Prophecy; and pretending to particular heavenly Inspirations, as to his own Concern, positively declar'd he should not die. Some add, that he had so much Confidence in the Phyfician, who admir'd he should be so positive in a Case that at best was but dubious, as to tell him he ventur'd nothing by faying so, and might make a great Advantage of it, If I die (faid he) I shall be run down as an En. thusiast, or a Hypocrite, and when I am dead it matters not what they say of me; but if I recover, I shall be look'd upon as a Person inspir'd, and what may I not do with these People, if I am so reputed?

His Difcontent..

It was believ'd that Domestick Troubles had contributed towards his Distemper. One of his Daughters, whom he particularly affected, dy'd, and being troubled at her Death with furious Deliriums, reproach'd him to his Face with all his Villanies. Fleetwood, his Sonin-law, was in League with Lambert and the Republicans, who gave him so much Uneafiness, that he was grown Jealous even to Distraction. He had for some Time past scarce lain two Nights in the same Room, and no Body knew what Apartment he lay in. Nor was he much more fortunate in the rest of his Family, than in his Son-in-law. His Brother-in-law Desborough visibly inclin'd towards a popular Government. Of the two Sons the Protector had, the eldest was least fit to fucceed him. He plainly perceiv'd it; but, perhaps, flay'd too long to order Affairs, which requir'd Time and Precaution. He was almost in a Lethargy, when some one asking, whether he did not appoint his eldest Son Richard to be Protector after his Death, he anfwer'd, he did; but after such a manner as plainly evinc'd he would as freely have faid, No.

Thus Cromwel hafted on to his End, notwithstanding his Prophecy, which the People had plac'd fuch Confidence in, that they had already given Thanks to God

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for his Recovery. It was in the Year 1658, and on the 1658. 3d of September, fo fortunate to him for two Victories gain'd at Dunbar and at Worcester, that he ended his Prosperity and his Life, which had been attended with all that could make a wicked Man famous. Cardinal Mazarine is faid to have call'd him, a Fortunate mad Man. I do not think that was his true Character. Actions fo well laid and concerted, and so properly His Chaplac'd, are not the Product of a thoughtless Man, who ratter, fucceeds in all Things because he contrives Nothing, whose indiscreet Projects succeed meerly by Chance; and who rifes, only because he has run himself into a thousand Dangers of falling down headlong. When Cromwel began to follow the Impulse of his Ambition, which was his prevailing Passion, he never thought of Supplanting the Kings of England and placing his own Family, which was of a flender Gentility, in the County of Huntington, on the Throne of the Stuarts and the Plintaginets. All Men agree he never had that Notion; tho' it is reported, that his Father had caus'd him to be whipp'd, when a Boy, for faying, that an Apparition had told him he should be a King. Cromwel had no Faith in Apparitions, and was not to be led, when a Man. by the Imaginations of his Infancy. He had refolv'd all his Life-time to raise his Fortune, and to try all ways towards it. That was his whole Defign, when he enter'd upon the Course he took; happy if that of Virtue had occurr'd first; it is likely he might have follow'd it as well as that of Wickedness, had he there met with fuch fure Means to rife, and succeed; being himself indifferent to either, and fitly qualify'd to advance in both. It was his Misfortune, that the Troubles gave him notable Opportunities of exerting himself among the Authors of them; he thought that was the Way to make himself known, and become necessary to a Party that was infenfibly ingroffing all the Authority. When he was known there, he resolv'd to Rule; but being as Pliable as he was Ambitious, he Rul'd by appearing Submissive, always holding out to the Publick mighty Names outwardly wested with Dignities, which he manag'd himself. Proceeding thus gradually, and laying his Schemes as Events offer'd Opportunities, he rais'd himself by King-killing, by great Victories, and by all the Arts of most refin'd Policy, to the Sovereign Power, which.

which he supported by the same Methods, and dy'd poffes'd of it. Such a Man, in my Opinion, is not so properly a Fortunate mad Man, as a judicious Vil.

Richard Cromwel having neither his Father's good, Richard Cromwel, nor his bad Qualities, could not support that Structure which had been rais'd by both of them. He was a good fort of Man enough; an Enemy to Violence; of indifferent natural Parts, and had never improv'd those he had, either by Education, or Experience. The Protec. tor kept him in the Country, where the young Man diverted himself with Hunting, never interfering in publick Affairs, or feeking after it; being timorous, and incapable of attempting, and much less of putting in Execution those Things which requir'd Vigour and Resolution. His makness was well known before he was rais'd to the Protectorship, and it is reported, that if his Father, who knew him better than others, had not been fnatch'd away by Death, his younger Brother Henry, who was still in Ireland, would have fill'd that Place, and been much more proper for

Richard's Instalment having only serv'd the more to Four Factiexpose his Incapacity; all Men aiming to make their ous. Advantage of it, the Nation was divided into four Fac-The Protector's, and of those that pretended to support him; that of Lambert, who aim'd at his Place; that of the Republicans, who for the same Reason that they had overthrown the Royal Government, were for subverting the Protectorship, in order to settle a popular Government in England; and that of the King and

> his Loyal Subjects, who labour'd to restore him to the Throne of his Ancestors.

Lambert and the Royalists being as yet in no Condi-Lambert and Fleet-tion to act barefac'd for themselves; they thought it wood a- their best way to begin by supporting the Republicans,

who were working against the Protector, and help them Richard. to empty that Place, whence each Party flatter'd themselves they might afterwards exclude them. The Storm that inreaten'd Richard gather'd at Fleetwood, his Brother-in-law's, whom Cromwel having flatter'd with fome Hopes of the Protectorship, had envenom'd his Heart against him that possess'dit. The Republicans knewit, and thinking to pull down a Family that obstructed their

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Defigns by its own Members, made it their Bufiness for fome Time to heighten Fleetwood's Discontent, complaining of the Wrong done him, and putting him in Hopes of Redress, through their Zeal for his Advancement; practifing much the same Artifice with him, that Lambert intended to use with them; that is, making him expect to be Head of the Government, that by his Means they might the better fettlea Government without a Head. Fleetwood was a fort of a Saint of Cromwel's bringing up, but not so Crafty, and fitter to be deceiv'd than to deceive others; as appear'd by the Management I am now speaking of. Vane, Hasterig, Harrifon, and the other Sticklers for a Commonwealth, among whom Lambert appear'd as Chief, perswaded Fleetwood, that he ought to take unon him the Government, and prevail'd with him to present a Petition to the Protector, in the Name of the Army, demanding of him that they might not be Cashier'd, or Try'd, but by a Court Marshal, and that for the future they might chuse their own General.

Richard receiv'd those Proposals with much Indignati-The Aron, and for some Time made them apprehend he was my's Demore resolute than they had imagin'd; but the Disor-mands. der he seem'd to be in, when that Heat, which proceeded from his natural Temper, was over, soon discover'd his Weakness, and how unlikely he was to hold out long against Men that would not be deny'd. They put it hard, and oblig'd him to call a Parliament, whose Authority he hop'd would support his, and curb the Army. It prov'd in vain, for the Army pursu'd what it had began, and press'd the Parliament to grant their Demands.

That Parliament was compos'd of two Houses, like the Richard's former, and had a Mixture of three sorts of People, all Parliawhich, upon different Views, were unanimous in the ment. resolute opposing of the Army. One Party was sincerely for the Protector, and voted for supporting his Authority, and rejecting the Petition of the Army. The second was of the Republicans, who agree that the others, in order to exasperate the Soldiers third was of the Royalists, who had resolved to put that might embroil the Rebel Factions. Thus Parliament positively rejecting the Soldiers Petron, and they insisting upon it, all Men saw that Matter was

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driving to Extremity. William Howard, who had ferv'd Cromwel, and was still with his Son, was earnest with Richard to exert himself by some vigorous Action, like those which supported his Father's Authority till his Death. You are Cromwel's Son, said he, show your self Howard's worthy of it. This Business requires a bold Stroke, and must be supported by a good Head? Do not suffer your felf to be daunted now, and my Head shall answer for the Consequences. Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, and Vane, are the Contrivers of all this. I will rid you of them, do you stand by me, and only back my Zeal for your Honour, with your Name. Richard was surpriz'd at these Words. He answer'd, in a Consternation, That he did not love Blood; that he would never offer up to many Sacrifices to his Ambition; and in short, that he could never consent to what Hand propos'd. That Mercy, reply'd Howard, who was still of the same Mind, is not now Seasonable, as Matters stand. We may shed that Blood which contrives to spill ours, without being fond of Bloodsbed; and tho' Conscience may obstruct a Sovereign's Sacrificing an Innocent Person to his Ambition, it does not oppose his Executing a Criminal for his own Safety. Lay aside that Pusillaniminy, so misbecoming the Successor of Cromwel; but be quick, for every Moment is precious; confider that your Enemies found this Time in afting, which we waste in Consultation. Howard's Heat could not make its way into Richard's Heart; he own'd the Obligation, but did not alter his Mind, and faid, Talk no more of it, my Refolution is fix'd. Violent Councils do not fuit with me, and all you can perswade me by that you now give, is, that it proceeds from true Friendsbip, for which I am thankful. Hereupon Howard withdrew, and leaving a Man who abandon'd himself, to his Fate, joyn'd the Royalists, where he was of use to the better Cause. I have read in good Memoirs, that he was at that very Time ingag'd in the King's Service, and only gave that Advice to fet his Enemies together by the Ears. That is not unlikewhole Authority of Historians is against it. ly; by What Howard's Intentions were, the Protector le sensible of the Truth of his Words, by emonstrance the Officers of the Army dem, to present from them to the Parlialiver'd ment.

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That Paper began with a Complaint, of their want of Care in suppressing the Royalists, who, they said, were reviving their Plots on all Sides; and concluded, by Army Reproposing a Popular Government, as a powerful Reme-monstrance dy against that Evil, which was in ambiguous and yet in-rejected. telligible Terms. Such of the Members as proceeded with Sincerity were offended at that Remonstrance; those who lov'd the Protector, plainly perceiving the Intent of it, voted it Seditious; those who at the same Time betray'd both the Protector and the Parliament, to support the Republican Party, pretended to resent it more than the others, in order to draw on the House to pass some Vote, that might cause the Soldiers to Mutiny. Thus it was unanimously agreed, not only to reject the Remonstrance, but to forbid the Officers and Soldiers caballing together , all fuch Time as the Parliament should have order'd the Publick Affairs, as they thought most for the Good of the State.

That Inhibition had the Effect the Republicans ex-The Army pected. The Army was so inrag'd, that they sent to mutinies, defire the Militia of London to joyn them; which they did, and went in a Tumultuous manner to besiege Whitehall, where the Protector resided. Fleetwood and Desborough were deputed to deliver the Request and Threats of the Mutiniers. Their Request was to Dissolve the Parliament; and their Threats imported no

less than Fire and Sword, if he refus'd. Richard had not the Heart to oppose such imminent Danger. After some The Parlishort Resistance made in such manner as affur'd those ament disthat su'd to him of Success, he comply'd, and Dissolv'd solv'd. the Parliament.

As soon as he had so done, he was look'd upon as a lost Richard Man, and tho' they let him rest a few Days, without irresolute. making any Show of proceeding any further; yet such as were clear sighted foresaw, that the Calm threaten'd a Storm; that they were taking those Measures they had not Time before to adjust, for settling the Government, and that as soon as they had six'd that Point, they would depose Richard. The Royalists laid hold of this Opportunity, to advise him and his Party to side with the King. They thought he might be the more likely to espouse that Interest in his declining Fortune, because it was reported, that he had formerly cast himself at his Father's Feet to beg King Charles the First's Life;

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which Action had render'd him odious, and contemptible. Richard waver'd, but it did not become Cromwel's Blood to do any honeit Action. He chose rather to leave his own Fate uncertain, than to hazard any thing to mend it, fearinghe might precipitate, instead of preventing the Danger. But his Friends having open'd his Eyes, show'd himsthe Danger so near, that he resolv'd to fly for it. Fleetwood, whom he acquainted with his Defign; affur'd him, there was no Defign against his Life, and that, if they took away the Government, they would make him such a Fortune, as would fatisfy a Man of his Moderation. These Words stopp'd him, and he continu'd in his Palace from that Time, without any Action, like a Statue that makes an unbecoming Orna-

Council of War governs.

ment. In the mean while the Council of War broke all the Army Officers that were of the Protector's Faction, as Goff, Ingoldsby, and Falconbridge, restoring those his Father had formerly cashier'd. Thus Lambert was again made Major General, under Fleetwood, in appearance, he being declar'd General; but in reality governing all, as Cromwel had done under Fairfax. Nor did they stop there; these New Lords would have a Parliament for their Turn, and believing they could never have one so absolutely at their own disposal, as the ignominious Remains of that which had murder'd the King, and been so shamefully diffolv'd by Cromwel; they restor'd it, and would have Lenthal to continue Speaker, as he had been before. This done, they contriv'd a Form of Government, till such Time as they were agreed upon such a fort of Commonwealth as some defir'd, and all pretended to be for. All this Commotion ended, as had been expected, in deposing the Protector, and abolishing the Protectorship. He gave them no Trouble about deposing of him; he refign'd at the first Word; on Condition they should pay his Debts, and he was affign'd out of the Publick Revenue a fufficient Allowance to live with some Distinction as a private Man. His Brother Henry was still in Ireland, where he had a good Army, the Command whereof and the Government of that Island were taken from him. He made some Difficulty to submit, but did not follow his first Motions, and at last dishonourably quitted a Place he had held with much Reputation.

Richard depos'd.

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The Republican Party having thus overthrown the 1659. Protectoral, there still remain'd two of those Factions that had concurr'd with the Republicans for abolishing Three Fathe Protectorship, both of them as averse to a Common-Hions. wealth as they were opposite to one another, which were Lambert's and the King's. Thus upon this new Change, three several Parties came upon the Stage; that of the Republicans, in the Parliament; Lambert's, whose main Strength lay in the Army; and the King's, which having no Head in the Nation, at least none that durst appear, confisted of People scatter'd throughout all Societies, all Towns, and almost all Houses, till such time as General Monk heading those, who only waited an Opportunity to declare for their Sovereign, had the

good fortune to restore the King and Monarchy.

Some will have it, that the faid ramous Restorer of Monk's the English Throne never had that glorious Defign, till Character the other he had conceiv'd of making himself absolute, and Deappear'd impracticable. The Nation is divided in Opi-fence. nion as to this Point. After examining what is alledg'd on both Sides, I am for Monk; and have too powerful Reasons to convince me of his Integrity in that Point, to leave the Readers dubious. The Character conceiv'd of his Talent has been one of the Motives for doing this Wrong to his Virtue; but that of his Behaviourought to counterpoise it, and make us think quite otherwise of him; but there is a fort of Men in the World, who when there are two equivalent Reasons to judge well or ill of a Man, never hefitate, but always conclude ill. It is true Monk's Talent had not till then appear'd fitted for carrying on an Affair at a great distance, by means of long-fighted Intrigues, Compassings, deep Distimulation, and Connections manag'd by the most refin'd Policy, which he made use of in restoring of the King; but at the same time, that Commander's Behaviour had never given any Caufe to believe that he was ambitious of making himself Protector. Ambition was one of the Passions that least prevail'd in him, and he seems to have been moderate in them all. He was born in Devonsbire, with such Capacity and Inclinations as became an honest Gentleman; being a younger Brother, and ot little Fortune; but brave, generous, defirous to live like a Man of Honour, in the Exercise of Arms, which he follow'd as foon as able, and look'd upon rather as

an Imployment becoming what he was, than as the Means to attain to something he coveted to be. His Ap. plication to what he had in hand render'd him capable of doing any thing within the Sphere of his Imploy. ment. Thus he ran through all Potts, from a Colonel to a General, and from the Government of a Town to that of a Kingdom. His Inclination and Duty at first ingag'd him in the King's Service; Necessity afterwards drew him half way over, and Gratitude brought him to the worst Side. He had been taken in a Fight, and committed to the Tower of London. The Parliament offering him a Command against the King, he refus'dit; but afterwards proposing to him to go over into Ireland to make War against the Catholicks in the Name of the King and Parliament, tho' they were then warring up on one another, ne went and continu'd there till the Death of King Charles the First. All the Royal Party being then dispers'd, and no Footsteps left of them, Cromwel did Monk a good Turn, protecting him in the Parliament, which would have brought him to a Trial, for having concluded a Truce for some Months with the Irish Catholicks, contrary to an Ordinance of their. In gratitude for that Kindness, Monk follow'd Cromud into Scotland, and there Lambert and he being Equals, became Rivals.

Lambert's Lambert quite outshin'd Monk; he was as brave, and Character. as skilful in War; but more hot, more ambitious, more haughty, and fitter to be Supreme; no Man was

more like Cromwel, or properer to succeed him had too foon discover'd, not only that he was capable, but that he aspir'd to it. Cromwel was too politick to fuffer a Man to rife without Opposition, who might fucceed him, and aim'd at it; he had preferr'd Mont before him, in the Government of Scotland, contrary to what he had made him hope; he had afterwards a shier'd him, and thought he had laid him low enough to prevent him ever looking up to supplant his Family. Notwithstanding all those Precautions, Lambert would have try'd for the Government with Cromwel's Hell, had he found People in the Parliament that would be twice impos'd upon, as he did in the Army. He had the Disposal of the Forces, after being restor'd to his Imployment. Fleetwood, whom he had caus'd to be chosen General, was his Fairfax, and the Pretence of a

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Commonwealth, which had flood Cromwel in flead to ingage those who were for one to favour his Usurpation, began to work its Effect. The Parliament express'd the Confidence they had in him, and gave him a Commiffion to fight for them, upon occasion of a Tumult rais'd against that hateful Assembly.

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The Occasion of it was thus: The Presbyterians were inrag'd to fee themselves again brought under that Handful of Villains, who being the least and most inconsiderable Part of what is call'd a Parliament, were therefore, in Contempt, nam'd the Rump. The Discontent was to universal, that a Conspiracy was carry'd on, which might have ruin'd the Usurper and his Adherents, had it been better manag'd. Sir George Booth was the Head of that tumultuous Undertaking, wherein some Booth's fay he might have been more successful, had he been Rifing. more absolute. For it was not only the zealous Part of that Sect who had ingag'd in the Project; but most of the King's faithful Servants had eagerly embrac'd so favourable an Opportunity to remove the greatest Obstacle there was against his ascending the Throne, by destroying the Regicide Gang that had excluded him. Thus at the same time that Booth appear'd about Chester with Middleton, at the Head of a compleat Army, others show'd themselves in other Parts, and all Counties swarm'd with them. The Parliament sent Lambert, with about 7000 Men, against those two Commanders, who advanc'd from Chester towards Norwich. ported that Booth would have staid till his Troops were better disciplin'd, and us'd to stand Fire, before he fought Lambert; but that others more hafty oblig'd him to ingage against his Inclination. They fought near Norwich, where it appear'd, that Booth understood better than his Council, and that it was not without Cause he had been apprehensive of setting new-rais'd Men against Veteran Troops. He was routed and taken, and with him fell his Party, which the Parliamentarians dispers'd with as much Ease as it had been rais'd.

Whilst these were in Action, Mank still consider'd Monk preon, and concerted the Measures how to proceed upon pares for a fure Grounds. His Fidelity to Cromwel had descended Term to that Usurper's Family; for he had own'd Richard. Monk was naturally inclin'd to leave things that were once lettled, as he found them; to follow the Stream,

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Sir G.

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and not to meddle in publick Affairs any farther, than he was oblig'd by his Honour or Interest; being timo. rous, slow in undertaking, and never possessing himself so strongly with the Conceit of an Enterprize, as to believe the Success of it infallible, being less fiery, or conceited, than is usual among People of that Profession.

Monk's Secrecy.

It is likely, that as long as the Protectoral Govern. ment had been univerfally own'd, Monk gave way to his natural Inclination with the less Scruple, because he ow'd his Rife to Cromwel. I have not been able to dif. cover, even among the Historians whose Opinion I follow, when it was precisely that he return'd to his Duty to his King, and form'd the Defign of restoring him. I differ from those who pretend that General never thought of restoring the Monarchy, till he despair'd of obtaining the Protectorship. It is to be believ'd he had always a fincere Defire in his Heart, to contribute towards fo righteous an Undertaking. Even upon quitting the King's Service, he had declar'd he hop'd to be one Day in a better Condition to serve him. been often foretold to him, that he would have it in his Power to restore his Sovereign to the Throne; and tho' he did not feem to give Credit to those Predictions, he lov'd to hear them. His refusing to abjure the King, by an Oath invented by the Enemies to Monarchy, proves, notwithstanding the Pretexts he made use of to conceal the true Cause of his Refusal, that he was always well inclin'd to the Monarchy and the Monarch. But how good soever his Sentiments were, he conceal'd themas long as he thought them either of no use to his Prince, or destructive to himself, if discover'd. This was no Trouble to him; for he talk'd little, he heard all things with Sedateness; and tho'he had but a small Number of Confidents, he discover'd not himself to them till there was need. Thus tho' he could not fometimes hinder the Actions of others from rendring him suspected, as happen'd in the Affair of Booth, yet his own Behaviour always remov'd that Jealoufy, and he carry'd it so that the Publick never knew his Defign till it was executed. What is most remarkable in it, that to all appearance, the King himself knew nothing of it, any farther than by Conjectures he might make from the civil Answers Monk gave to those that apply'd to him in his behalf. I know there are several Memoirs, which mention the

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General's sending to him at first, to offer his Service; but those, who gave that out, never consider'd, that is had been true, it had never been question'd; that Monk would have made it out himself, in answer to those who said, that the King's Restoration had been the Consequence of his Disappointment, and a secondary Design. That General's Historian would not have been necessitated to urge other Reasons to vindicate him in that Particular, if he could have alledg'd that, which he might so easily have known, having been so long a Servant and Agent to him whose Apology he writ.

However that Circumstance stood, which is not for His Policy, my Purpose, it is certain that General did not make known his Design of restoring the King to the Throne, to any but those he thought were necessary for advancing it, and as he saw they became so; being fully convinced, that the Success of that Affair did not only depend upon the Secrecy of it; but that it could never be brought a-

bout, without doing like Men that row in a Boat, that s, looking the contrary Way from that whither they

He lay in wait for a favourable Opportunity to begin Lambert's hat Work, when a great Contest between Lambert and Practices: he old Parliament offer'd him the best he could have wish'd for. Lambert and the old Parliament had too lifferent Views to continue long unanimous. The Pariament were for a Republican Government, that they might all share in it, and support one another in the Authority they had usurp'd. Lambert aim'd at Governng alone, and mov'd towards it underhand in all Cromwel's Ways. He laying hold of every Advantage to promote his Defign, concluded that the Victory obain'd over Booth was a favourable Opportunity to push on his Enterprize, and went about to improve it. That Action had entirely devoted the Troops he then commanded, to his Interest. The others had a greater Respect for him. Thus his Reputation was advanc'd above one half in the Army. The better to fix it, he undertook to make a new Promotion of Officers, and artfully put the Army upon asking it of the Parliament. They being no less vigilant to support their own Authority, than Lambert was to lessen it; in order to make himself absolute, made no doubt but that the Request of the Army was an Artifice of Lambert, to make his own Creatures:

For

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For this Reason, they not only refus'd to make the Promotion propos'd, but broke several Officers, under co. He is broke lour of faving Expences. Fleetwood and Lambert were of that number. Fleetwood suffer'd least, being ap. pointed one of the feven Commissioners, on whom that House conferr'd the Command of the Army, with the Title of Lieutenant Generals, and equal Authority.

The Army mutinies.

It is not to be express'd how much that Ordinance of fended the Army; but it is easy to guess how pleasing their Discontent was to ambitious Lambert, and what Care he took to improve it; we may judge of it by the Consequences. The very next Day the Army appear'd under Arms about Westminster, and having poffess'd themselves of the Palace Yards and Avenues to the House, hindred the Members reforting thither, and fo broke off the Sitting. Lambert, and the Army Off. cers, being Masters of the Field, and no longer regard. ing the Parliament, which they look'd upon as diffolv'd, made feveral Changes to their own Minds, and for their Thus Fleetwood, Lambert, and Desborough were restor'd to their Posts, and such as they suspected to be vour the Parliament, cashier'd. The Council of Wa having usurp'd the Sovereign Authority, began to confult about some Form of Government that might be latt ing, and put an End to those unhappy Convulsions that had so long distracted the Nation. The Council of State being still afoot, the Army Officers thought fit to confer with them in that Affair. They chufing rather to share that Authority, which they ought to have had entire, during the Intervals of Parliament, than by contending to hazard the lofing of all, agreed with the Officers, that Five Persons should be deputed out of each Body to contrive such a Form of Government, at they might stick to. Whether those Deputies mistrust. ed their own Power, or whether they would not be an-Iwerable for the Confequences of fuch an Undertaking or for any other Reason unknown, they concluded upon A Commit-nothing but the composing of a Senate, as some call'dit or rather, as the English generally name it, a Committee of about 28 Persons, whereof Fleetwood, Lambert,

Desborough, and Vane were the Chiefs. This Commit-

tee was entrusted with the present Management of At-

fairs, for the Term of fix Weeks their Authority was

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fettled Form of Government, which so many others had till then in vain sought after; and if they pitch'd upon none in that Time, it was resolv'd the Army should have the Management of the State.

Whilst the Committee was employ'd informing seve-Tumults ral Projects of Government, none of them agreeable and Divito the leveral Interests of the Members composing that sions. Assembly, Lambert, with much Satisfaction, perceiv'd, that the Army was like to have the Sovereignty; and that he being Mafter of the Army, would foon, as he defign'd, have the entire Disposal of the Government; but on a sudden they were inform'd, that the old Parliament was working under hand to creep in again; and pretended, that having only ceas'd to act on account of the Violence offer'd them, it was their Right to go take their Seats again at Westminster. The City dreading the unbounded Dominion of the Army, demanded a free Parliament, and the Committee was perplex'd with feveral Popular Commotions, which they found a Difficulty to suppress. However it is likely, that neither the Intrigues of the Parliament, nor the Tumults in the City, would have wrought much upon Men who had the Disposal at pleasure of a Victorious Army; had not Monk, who never before discover'd any of his Designs, laid hold of so favourable an Opportunity to pretend one he had not, in order to bring about that he had; viz. To feem to support the Parliament against the Army, that he might subject them both to the King,

Monk had spent the Time elaps'd since the deposing of Monk's Richard Cromwel, and the abolishing of the Protector-Disposition ship, till the falling out of the Army and the old Parfor his Deliament, in disposing Affairs towards his real Design. Igns: He had gather'd Money, and had a full Treasury. He had put Scotland into such a Posture, as not only to be out of danger of shaking off the English Yoke, whilst he was employ'd elsewhere, and obstructing his Projects; but to serve him as a Retreat, in case of any Disappointment. There were some strong Places, and he lest good Garrisons to secure them. Besides the Nation lov'd him, and the Nobility in all Parts seem'd well dispos'd to espouse his Interest. He had prepar'd his Forces to execute a considerable Enterprize, and to stand a War successfully, if there were occasion. He had form'd, har-

whom he undertook to reffore.

1659.

den'd, and disciplin'd his Army for the Purpose he de. fign'd them; and chole rather to leften it, than to enter. tain suspicious Persons, he could not rely on. It was one of the most difficult Parts he had to play, so to purge his Troops of intractable Officers and Soldiers, who had different Views and Intentions from him. It oblig'd him to begin leveral Times to reform, and turn out; and yet could he not do it fo thoroughly, but that when he least expected it, whole Companies would desert. His Watchfulness and Application prevented the ill Con. fequences those Accidents might have occasion'd in his Affairs, and it came to pass at last, that among all those who commanded, he was the only one that they firmly adher'd to. He had fecur'd Berwick and Carlifle, two Pofts of great moment, on the Borders of the two Kingdoms, for those that will carry the War out of the one into the other of them. He had settled private and true Intelligence in all Places, where any thing could happen that was requifite to be known by him. He spent the Nights in decifering the Letters he receiv'd, and answering them. He had behav'd himself in such manner towards the King, and those who apply'd to him in his Behalf, that, without promiting any thing, he left them room to hope the best, without discovering enough of his Intention for them to affirm any thing concerning it, and making an unfeafonable Discovery, still giving Light enough for them to behave themselves accordingly, and be ready to make their Advantage.

His Beha- Such was his Behaviour towards Sir John Greenvil, viour to- afterwards Earl of Bath, who went to him into Scotland, wards the with Letters from the King; he fent him away well Royalifts. pleas'd, and that Gentleman had conceiv'd fuch mighty Hopes from what he told him, tho' he said nothing po-

fitively, that he afterwards acted in the Common Cause, as if he had been in Concert with him. The General had been more open with others, according as he thought it requisite underhand to dispose them to forward that Turn he was going to give to Affairs, when it should be a proper Time, and to put them in the way for restoring of the King. But those Considents were his own Men, of whose Fidelity he had long Experience; whereas Experience having also taught him, that among those who follow'd his Majesty's Court, there were some that betray'd him; he wisely concluded,

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that the fafest way was to let him act on his own fide. 1659. with his Courtiers, whilft he and his Friends proceeded on their fide, in promoting his Caufe. And for the better deceiving of those it was requisite he should delude, he had began to use greater Severity than usual towards fuch as indifcreetly declar'd for the King. Tho'he had always refus'd to abjure the Royal Family; yet he never feem'd to diflike that Proposal, in the Projects of Government form'd by the Republicans, that there must be a Commonwealth without a King, or House of Peers, or any fingle Person to exercise the Sovereign Authority. Thus had that wife General privately dispos'd Affairs for the Execution of a Defign, which he could not yet make known, without hazarding the re-uniting of all the Factions against himself, and being oppress'd by the Multitude of those, who either out of Fear, or Interest, or by being ingag'd in a Faction, made publick Profession of opposing the Restitution of Monarchy. He only wanted a Pretence to proceed upon, which he found in the Rupture between the Parliament and the Army, towards the latter End of the Year 1659. He began in October to instil Zeal for the Civil Government into his Troops, in opposition to the Martial Government the Army in London, or rather Lambert in their Name would engross to himself. He earnestly represented that a Martial Government His Infiwas not proper for a great State, that it was too violent, nuations to too unsteady, and too subject to Fancy, and Rashness; the Army. besides that it was a Thing never heard of, without any Prefident, contrary to the Laws and Customs, not only of England, but of all Nations in the World. Then he magnify'd the Affront offer'd by Lambert and his Party to the Supreme Court in England, and represented it as a general Wrong done to the whole Nation. And to raile a Jealouly in the Scots Army against the English, he declar'd by way of Comparison, that there was no Reason the former should submit to the latter, protesting he would venture all, rather than so many brave Men who had ferv'd under him, should be so much ilighted.

At the same Time the General himself, or his Friends His Agents for him, express'd himself after this manner; he writ to in all all Parts to gain Followers, he sent Expresses all about, Parts. and Agents to such Places as he thought necessary. So

that

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that he had some in Ireland, and aboard the Fleet com. manded by Lawfon; for that under Montague was reck. ned fure for the King. He had others in London to gain that City, which did not well agree with the Parliament, but was wholly averfe to the Army. He wanted not for some in that very Army, among the Republican Officers, who having discover'd Lambers's Projects and Am. bition, began to fall off, and leave the Committee. Others were with Fairfax, and several Lords, who having withdrawn themselves from the Tumultuous Afsemblies in the Capital, diffatisfy'd with what was transacting in the Government, seem'd to lye by in their Houses only waiting an Opportunity to embrace fome Party against those Tyrannical Factions.

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The News Monk receiv'd from most of his Agents on to him gave him to understand, that he should have Auxiliary for Accom-Forces, when he was in a Condition to overcome with modation, his own. Thus he bent all his Thoughts upon taking the Field as foon as possible, at the Head of a good Army, firmly resolv'd to stand by him. He met with more Dithculties on that fide, than he had expected. Befides Defertions, which had weak'ned his Forces, and the Reforms he had made to get rid of suspicious Persons, those very Men that adher'd to him, desir'd he would fend Proposals of Peace to their Brethren in the English Army, so they call'd them, according to the Presbyte rian Cant. That Proposal was very disagreeable to the General, who was not defirous of that Peace with his Brethren of England, which did not fuit with his Defigns. He had already difmis'd several of their Deputies, without giving them any Hopes of the Accommodation they came to propose. Falconbridge was gone back with the Diffatisfaction of having done nothing. Caryl and Baker, two famous Ministers, had succeeded no better. Morgan, after performing the Duty of a Melsenger fincerely and like an honest Man, had staid in Monk's Army, and taken a Command there. Clarges the General's Brother-in-law, and the best of his Friends, had done the same, bating that he return'd to London, where he hop'd to do his Kiniman more Service, than His Refo- if he had flaid with him.

After fo long refusing to come to an Accommodation, lution, and Application Monk thought of nothing but fighting; for the Comto the Scots mittee was fending Lambert, with part of the Army, to

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meet and oppose him, in case he refus'd to accept of Peace on such Terms as that General was commission'd to offer him. Lambert was already come to Newcastle, having prevented Monk's Forces in securing that Place. Confidering the Inclination of those two old Rivals to fight, it is easy to judge, that the Proposals of Peace they were oblig'd to make troubl'd both of them equally. However Monk thought he had rid his Hands of that Perplexity by the private Instructions he gave to the Deputies ient to London, in Complaifance to his Officers. Those Instructions were, to protract the Treaty, and flart such Difficulties as might prevent coming to any Conclusion. In hopes that Artifice would have all the Success he expected, the General hasted to take the last Measures for the Safety of Scotland, and to affemble his Forces to enter England. The Scots, the Chief of whom he affembled at Edinburgh, continu'd to express their ready Compliance to all he should defire. Some of them feem'd to fear, he might leave them expos'd to Lambert's Tyranny, in case of any Disadvantage; the English Forces he left in Scotland being too weak to secure them, and there being no more in Scotland, but what he took with him. Monk easily remov'd all those Fears, giving them to understand, that he looking upon their Country, and Friendship, as his safest Retreat in cale of any Mistortune, left their Towns in a fit Condition to give a Check to any powerful Army, and gain Time for routed Forces to recruit. He also promis'd, in a short Time, to increase those Forces he left them, with a considerable Number of others that were preparing for him, and which he should meet on his Way; giving them to understand, that he could rely upon Friends he had, even in Lambert's Army.

The Winter, and Rainy Season, which had spoil'd the He mar-Roads, obstructed his Army's coming together so soon shes to-as he had projected. He could not set out till November, wards Enand began his March towards Berwick, on the 8th of gland. that Month. He advanc'd with so much Satisfaction, that it appear'd in his Countenance, and in all his Actions, not questioning but that during the Time of a Treaty, which could not be brought to a Conclusion, he, having to do with a hasty, conceited, brave Man, and full with all those Designs a mighty Ambition inspires, might have Time togain that by his Sword, which was

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not to be expected by Treaty. He was marching full of fuch Hopes, when being come to Haddington, on the Road from Edinburgh to Berwick, some Officers of the English Army, sent by Fleetwood, came to bring him the News of an Accommodation concluded, between his Deputies and the Committee. The General was at the same Time inform'd, by Letters from his own Deputies, that they had been oblig'd to conclude that Treaty, after such a manner as they could not withstand. Their Apology consisted of several weak Reasons; among which it is like that they did not alledge was the greatest, viz. Either their Weakness, or Falshood.

Articles
between
bis Deputies and
the Committee.

'This News discompos'd Monk, and put him into such a heavy Humour that all Men were concern'd at it. He faying nothing, and every one feeking after the Occasion of his Discontent, they were hasty to read the Articles of the Treaty, which they found to this Effect, 1. That there should be an Amnesty for all that was 2. That feveral Persons imprison'd by Monk, either for attempting to leize some Frontier Towns in the two Nations, as was the Case of Cobbet, or for attempting to debauch his Army, should be fet at liberty, and their Number was confiderable. 3. That all Rightsbelonging to the King and the Royal Family should be entirely abolish'd. 4. That the Three Kingdoms, which compose the British Monarchy, should for the future be govern'd in the nature of a Free Commonwealth, without King, House of Lords, or Single Person. 5. That Two Officers of every Regiment in the Armies of the Three Nations, should meet to consult about the Form of Government the Committee should lay before them, and the Power of the People's Representatives in Parliament. 6. That there should be a Meeting at Newcastle of 14 Persons chosen out of Monk's and Lambert's Armies by those Generals, to regulate Affairs concerning the Officers that had been of late Cashier'd, Suspended, or Reform'd. 7. That both Armies should draw back into their own Quarters, there to be at the Disposal of those, that should, according to the intended Regulation, be intrusted with the Care of the State.

Are reject- These Articles, when read, appear'd so liable to Exed by his ceptions, and so sitly contriv'd to give the Officers of Army. the English Army an Opportunity of continuing their

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Tyranny, and oppressing Monk's Army, that they una- 1659. nimously cry'd out, The three Deputies had been frighted, or impos'd upon, and they ought to march on as they had began, without any Regard to a Treaty, which had been extorted by Force on the one fide, and

Fear on the other.

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The General was much pleas'd to observe the good He tries Effect that vile Treaty concluded at London had on his them, and Forces, and conceiv'd great Hopes of the Success of they resolve his Defigns. However, he suppress'd both his Hopes, to stand by and Satisfaction, that the Uneafiness he show'd, and the him. Confusion he seem'd to be in, might still heighten the Indignation of those Officers; affecting a dismal Silence, and returning to Edinburgh, as if he had defign'd to submit to the Treaty. This Artifice was as successful as he could have wish'd. He was belov'd; that deep Melancholy they thought had feiz'd him, very much troubled his Friends; the Resolution they believ'd he had taken to admit of the Treaty disturb'd those who were afraid of falling under the Yoke of the English Army; they all press'd him to except against it, to require it should be explain'd, and at the fame Time to march on. He had heard them without disclosing his own Mind, till being come to Edinburgh, and walking in a Hall amidst his Officers, whom he permitted to talk, without speaking one Word himself, but looking full of melancholy Thoughts, one of his Friends came in abruptly, and in a hasty manner, when the General spy'd him, he said, Well, what do you think of the Treaty concluded? I have not read it, answer'd that Person, but have heard talk of it, and upon what has been told me an come to make a Request to you. Monk seem'd amaz'd at those Words, and said to his Friend, You surprize me; what can you ask of me, under our present Circumstances? A Pass, reply'd the other, to go aboard a Vessel that is ready to sail into Holland. The General still more concern'd, rejoyn'd, Why, will you leave me in this Condition? For that very Reason I would leave you, said the Officer, because you are in this Condition; for after such a Treaty concluded, I cannot see how you can escape Ruin. For my own Part, I have no mind to refign my felf up in cold Blood to the Mercy of my Enemies. Monk looking upon that as a favourable Opportunity, if it was not his own Contrivance, in order to disclose himself, without hazarding too much,

blame me for that shameful Treaty? To clear my self, I must tell you, that if the Army will stand by me, I will stand by the Army. These. Words deliver'd with an Air of Resolution, wrought such an Effect on the Company, that every Man cry'd, he would live and die by the General. Never Commander was follow'd with more Zeal, than upon this Occasion; never were more so lemn Protestations made of an intire Devotion; in short, the whole Army was of the same Mind, and even the meanest Soldiers show'd a Resolution to share in their Leader's Fortune, and obey his Orders, without asking

monk en Monk, to make the best use of that favourable Discourag'd to position, call'd a Council of War, where it was resolved, proceed. that the Treaty should not be absolutely rejected, in

that the Treaty should not be absolutely rejected, to avoid giving Occasion to say, they were against Peace; but that the Ratification should be deferr'd, under Co lour of requiring some Articles to be explain'd, which feem'd ambiguous; that nevertheless the Army should continue their March, enter England, and advance to wards London, unless Lambert oblig'd them to fight; which would gain Time, with very little Management, to stave off the Explanation, the Preliminaries, and the Contests in the Treaty, and they would take care not to expose the Managers, as they had done the first Time to treat in such Places where their Adversaries were Mefters. The General was the more willing to follow this Advice, because he had Intelligence out of all Parts, by Letters he receiv'd from Ireland, from London, from the Fleet, from Fairfax, and from other Lords, who were in Arms at York, that they espous'd him warmly; that his Party every where prevail'd, and Lambert's, and that of the Army in England, was look'd upon as Tyrannical, defigning to let up Cromwel's Ulurpation again, and to restore the Protectorship, unless vigorously oppos'd.

His AnThis Resolution being fix'd, Monk writ to the Comfuer to the mittee, and particularly to Fleetwood, to acquaint them,
Committee, he had receiv'd the Treaty, and defir'd nothing but a
good and well-grounded Peace; but that in the said
Treaty, there were some Articles which could not establish such a Peace, unless they were better explain'd;
that he demanded that Explanation, in the Name of

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all his Army, and to that Purpole they should appoint a 1659. Place, where they might canvas the Matter with Freedom; that in the mean while; to prevent loss of Time, he would march on with his Army, to the end he might be near enough to support the Laws, and the publick Peace and Liberty. With these Letters to the Com- And Letmittee, the General fent others, to the Mayor and ters to the Common Council of London, to acquaint them, that as City. foon as he receiv'd the News of the Violence offer'd the Parliament by the Army, he had writ to the Magistrates of the City, and inform'd them of the Resolution that Attempt had made him take for delivering of England from Tyranny; that his Letter had been intercepted, but this would make amends; letting them know he perfisted in that useful Defign, and that he was refolv'd to draw near them, to put it in Execution; that he defir'd their Assistance, and pray'd them to hasten the Succours he promis'd himself from their Zeal, and affure themselves of his for the Preservation of their Tranquility, Liberty, and Religion.

These Letters were follow'd by Declarations, and see He advanveral other Papers, artfully contriv'd to inform, and see to Besperswade the Publick of the General's Sincerity he ex-wick. press'd for supporting of the Parliament, the Commonwealth, and the Liberty of England, against the Tyranny of the Army in London. At the same Time he march'd forward, and having taken a Review of his Army at Haddington, and visited Dunbar, and other Places of moment on that Coast, he advanc'd to Berwick, and thence to Coldstream, on the Scotch side of the Tweed, which there parts England and Scot-

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Lambert, who still lay at Newcastle, was pleas'd to Lambert's see his Rival advance, being resolv'd to fight him, when and the they were both inform'd, that the Committee consent-Committed to a farther Negotiation, in order to explain the tee's Views Treaty concluded at London. Monk's March, the Intrigues of the old Parliament for returning to the Helm of Government, since Monk had declar'd himself the Avenger of the Wrong done them; and the Divisions in the English Army, had daunted Fleetwood, and that Faction, who seeing no Safety for themselves, but in appealing the General, had resolv'd to give him Satisfaction, imagining, in all likelihood, it might be done by soft'ning

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the Articles of the Treaty, without altering any Thing that was effential. Lambert flatter'd himself, that whe. ther by the Ratification of the Treaty the English Army remain'd posses'd of the Government, or whether the faid Treaty breaking off they must come to a Battle, still those were only two different Ways to bring him to the intended End. Thus he permitted the Deputies of the Committee to treat with those appointed by Monk.

Alnwick, a Place almost equally distant from the two tes renew'd Armies, was appointed for the Conferences, and the Ge. nerals agreed, that till the Treaty was ratify'd, or broke up, the Troops should make no Motion to advance towards one another. Lambert had no mind to observe that Condition, and was not long without Pro. tences to break it. No sooner had they agreed, but he fent a flying Army to feize Wake Castle, in the County of Northumberland, on the Bank of the Tweed, opposite to Coldstream, where Monk was. Some fay, he intended by that Means to bring him to a Battle; others pretend his Defign was to draw him into an Ambush; and some Authors tell us they came to Blows, and the General of the Scots Army had the Advantage. There being no Account of these Particulars in the Life, or rather the Panegyrick Monk's Chaplain writ for the Honour of his Patron's Memory, that Author affuring us he then march'd with him; I hold to what he delivers, which is, that Monk knew how to curb his Adversary's Flights, without engaging. I find it in other Memoirs, that he was very careful to avoid it, as forefeeing by the good News constantly brought him from Ireland, London, and other Parts, that he should ruin him without fighting.

Advantages that accrue to Monk.

It fell out as he expected. During the fix Weeks Monk continu'd in his Camp at Coldstream, whilft the Commissioners at Alnwick, being either more faithful or able than those had been at London, still went on with a Defign to do nothing; the two Armies receiv'd four or five Pieces of News one upon the Neck of another, which decided all Points in favour of Monk and his Coldstreamers; so the Army of Scotland was call'd on account of its long Stay at Coldstream. The first Piece of News was, that Ireland had declar'd for him; that the Earls of Orrery and Montrath, Theophilus Jones, the Warrens, all the Ormand Family and Party, the' himself was then

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absent, had prevail'd over those who would have engag'd the Nation to embrace the opposite Faction, and secur'd many of them, that they might be in no Condition to raise any Disturbance for the Army in England.

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The first Emotions of Joy rais'd in the Scots Army by this happy Success were not yet over, when they were inform'd, that Lawson with the Fleet, Hasterig, Walton, and Morlay, had secur'd Portsmouth, and declar'd for Monk; and that Fleetwood and the Committee having sent thither a Detachment of the Troops left at London, those very Forces had join'd Hasterig and his Party; that after this the old Parliament, which since Monk and his Party declar'd for them, had been intriguing to meet gain, and take upon them the Management of Affairs, had sent to Fleetwood to demand the Keys of Westminster, and re-seating themselves, began to exercise their Justisdiction, by appointing new Commissioners to command that part of the Army which was still in London.

So many fortunate Adventures encourag'd Monk to profecute his Defign, and the last of them cut off all the Distinctive that might be occasion'd by the Treaty still held at Alnwick. As soon as ever the News of it was brought to him, he sent to acquaint Lambert, that the His Mestalteration made in the Command of the English Army sage to would not permit him to proceed any farther, or continue a Treaty, which ceas'd to be of any Authority, since the Power of those in whose Name it was carry'd on had ceased: that since the Parliament had reassumed.

fince the Power of those in whose Name it was carry'd on had ceased; that fince the Parliament had re-assum'd the Exercise of its Authority, he was resolv'd to own them, as he had express'd in his Declarations; that he was leaving Scotland, to support them against the Usurpers of that Authority granted by the Laws of the Nation to a Council so advantagious, and always so zealous for preserving the Liberties and Immunities of the Nation; that he therefore recall'd his Commissioners sent to Alnwick, and was preparing to march directly for London, by his Presence, and with the Assistance of the Forces the Commonwealth had intrusted him with, to support the Civil Government, grounded upon right Reason, and the Laws, against the Martial, which could be look'd upon no otherwise than as a Tyrannical Anarchy.

It is easy to imagine how disagreeable this Message Corrupts was to Lambert. As skilful as he was at Dissimulation, his Forces.

he could not forbear, firiking his Breast in a Passion, to fay, Monk does not use me well. He talk'd little, and thought much. Tho' fo few Words fell from him, he had deep Defigns of Revenge, and there is no question but that he then resolv'd to march against Monk, and by Force to make good the Breaches Management and Pa licy had made in his Fortune. He had a fine Army much more numerous than his Adversaries, and tho' many of them were new rais'd Forces, not so well disciplin'd, or enur'd to Hardships, as those of the Scots Atmy, yet had he Veterans enough to sustain, and give them a good Example. He was in a good Condition to fight, and had Caufe to hope for Victory, when he perceiv'd that most of his Forces were gain'd by Mont, who having understood that Lambert endeavour'd to debauch his Soldiers, had opportunely caus'd some Sums of Money to be distributed among his, which had disposit them to forfake him. At the fame Time the unfortunate General was inform'd, that all the Counties about New castle, where he was, offer'd their Forces to his Rival; that Fairfax, the Duke of Buckingham, and several Lords, were in Arms at York, for the same Party; and to compleat his Mistortune, that even those, who had supported his Faction, till then, in the Army, and in the City of London, either withdrew, or began to wavet. Upon this News brought him by Salmon, one of his Friends, Lambert thinking he might find those Supports at London, which he had not elsewhere, stole away filently out of Newcastle, and after some Days spent about York, unknown, took Post and went away to Los There, instead of finding his Faction wavering and his Friends in Confusion, as he expected; he found his Party to intirely ruin'd, and his Confidents to dilpers'd, that upon his first Arrival he was committed to the Tower by Order of the Parliament, none offering to oppole it, or he, as bold as he was, to stand upon his Defence.

1659. The Parliament writes to

Whilft Lambert was running on to Ruin, Monk en ter'd England to make his Advantage of it, and march'd towards London. He pass'd the Tweed, and came to Wellar on the first of January, 1652. As soon as there, he receiv'd a Letter from the Parliament, with News he had heard before; which were, that they had met again, and re-affum'd the Government, taking it out of Lam that thof affig Tha Gove look were more In

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Lambert's Hands, and that the same Express who brought that Advice to the Coldstream Forces, carried Orders to those at Newcastle to take up their Quarters in the Places affign'd them. The Parliament's Letter was full of Thanks to the General for having fided with the Civil Government against the Military; but those who look'd narrowly into it, observ'd that those Thanks were faint, and believ'd that Affembly fear'd Monk

more than they lov'd him.

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In short, whatsoever Pains that General took to be Their Jeathought a Republican; those Regicides, who dreaded lousies. to see the Son of the King they had murder'd, on the Throne, could not rid themselves of the Apprehension they had conceiv'd of the Stots Army restoring him. It is not therefore to be question'd, but that could they have been affur'd of the Obedience of the English Army, they would have declar'd as openly against Monk, as he infincerely declar'd for them. But besides that the small Remains of that Army still left about London comply'd with their Orders in such Manner, that they could lay no Stress upon their Obedience; the City was entirely against them, and was contriving something that would

more than balance their Force.

Since Monk had enter'd upon the Defign of restoring the King, the Partifans of them both had manag'd their Agents. Business so well, that they had made most of the People and Magistrates of that Capital, Royalists. wrought several Ways towards the same End. Monk's Emissaries took special Care to conceal their Correspondence with him, and acted not in his Name, to avoid bringing him in Danger of being convicted by the Parliament, for corresponding with his Majesty, and by that Means giving the Republicans, the Army, and Lambert's Faction an Opportunity of recruiting, which would infallibly have hap'ned had they declar'd before it was Time. Those Enterprises which advance no faster than so as they may be conceal'd, close cover'd, and convey'd by compaffing about, are always flow, and fure. Such were the Methods Monk's Agents took to fucceed at London, in bringing that City over to the King's Interest. Their Bufiness requir'd Time, Patience, Diffimulation, and Application; but at last they succeeded so far as to form such a Party for their Prince among the Magistrates, the Citizens, the Apprentices,

Monks

and the People of that great Capital, as was able to op. pose the Parliament, and by that Means forward the Success of the General's Enterprize for restoring of the Monarch. The most unaccountable Thing in it was, that most of those who were gain'd over to that Party, being ignorant that Monk knew any thing of the Application made to them, and apprehensive of the Severity he practis'd towards the Royalists, were as jealous of him as the Republicans, and their Notions being much the same, their Conduct in regard of him was

The City liament.

Thus was Monk call'd upon to affift two Parties, demands a both of which suspected his Aversion to them, and yet Free-Par- Necessity oblig'd them to have Recourse to him; for their Discontents grew so high, as gave Occasion to fear they would prove fatal to that Side which fell un. The City had began to demand a Free Parliament, and some Time after explaining that indefinite Expression, had demanded to have the Members secluded in the Year 1648 immediately restor'd; whereupon Twenty Five of the boldest of those Members offer. ing to take their Places in the House, they had been rejected. The Parliament was cautious of admitting them, because they had been excluded only for favouring the King; but the City contending for that very Reason to have them admitted, the Controversy ranso high, that those two Factions fearing the worst from one another, us'dall their Endeavours on both Sides to

City and secure Monk to their Interest. Both sent to desire him to haften his March, which had been very flow till then, ment court the General being resolv'd to be thoroughly inform'dof Monk.

what was doing at London, before he engag'd himself there. Scot and Robinson, the Parliament Deputies, pretending to take it for granted, that Monk's Declaration in Favour of that Affembly had been fincere, and without any Fallacy, tho' at the same Time they suspeched the contrary, pres'd him to go finish the Work he had began, and employ his Forces in supporting the Authority of the Great Council of the Nation, which that General himself, notwithstanding all his Evasions, had acknowledg'd. The City Deputies did not refuse to submit to a Superior Authority, and own'd the Parliament as fuch; but they would have a Free and Full Parliament, according to the ancient Laws and Cu-

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No Monk' tive w of the few o than i dom i had n discov luch f from t or rais King. Reafo The F old A main' either Comr fnot ger a much Reafo both] He p refts; deavo gain t alway Adva Rega

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from of the Nation, and affirm'd that the Affembly which had so long usurp'd that Name, could not be look'd upon as a true English Parliament, till such Time as those Members were recall'd, that compos'd it at the Time when first call'd.

Nothing could have happ'ned more favourable to He keeps in Monk's Defign, than that haity Contest, the main Mo-fair with tive whereof, which he was no Stranger to, affured him both. of the Capital, and that in England, where there are few other confiderable Cities, is a greater Advantage than in other Nations, to draw the rest of the Kingdom into the Party it espouses. Any other Man, who had not so great a Command of himself, would have discover'd his Thoughts to those who prevented him by such forward Actions; and some have taken Occasion from the General's Silence upon that Occasion to suspect, or raise a Jealousy of his good Intentions towards the King. They never confider'd, that Monk had the same Reasons to dissemble till he came to London, as before. The Parliament, the Fleet under Lawfon, the Part of the old Army that had gone in to Hasterig, those that remain'd still in London, and in short, most of those who either fear'd the King's Restoration, or were for a Commonwealth, being in a Condition to re-unite, and if not absolutely to obstruct, at least to retard and indanger an Affair which could not be carry'd on with too much Security, nor too foon compleated. For these Reasons Monk gave such Answers to the Deputies of both Factions, that they could not dive into his Defigns. He promis'd each of them to be mindful of their Interefts; and his own requiring, that he should rather endeavour to amuse those that could hurt him, than to gain those who were already dispos'd to serve him; he always in Publick, and upon Solemn Occasions, gave the Advantage to the Parliament Deputies, and express'd the Regard he pretended to have for them by the Word Submission.

The General still continuing that Politick Behaviour, Marches march'd into London, at the Head of his Army, in the into Longeginning of February, and went to lodge at Whitehall, don. whilst his Forces were quarter'd as had been agreed between him and the Magistrates. He had not been long in the City, before, upon a View of the Place, he perceiv'd, that the Dissimulation he had practis'd till then,

P 2

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was more necessary than ever, and that he could not a bate any thing of it, without hazarding the whole Suc. cess of his Enterprize. He had great Reason to be of that Opinion. In the first place, the King's Party was not as yet well united into a Body, and fufficiently divided from the confus'd Chaos of the several Factions that distracted the Nation; the Loyal Families being scarce free from some Republican, who kept the other in awe, and hinder'd their Declaring. Secondly, The Army in London was generally averse to the King, for its own Interest; that is, for their Safety, having Cause to fear left the Son should revenge the Father; for their Fortunes, in securing what they had got, most of the Officers that commanded it having some Part of what was taken from the Royal Family, which could not be restor'd without stripping them. Besides all this, the Wife General perceiv'd, he should only need to give the Parliament and the City Time to heighten their Discontents, to furnish himself with an infallible Me. thod for cutting off the King's greatest Enemies a one stroke, and putting his Friends into a Condition to be able to declare for him. For these Reafons Monk still persisted in concealing his Defigns, after he was come to London. The Event has shown which of the two made the rightest Judgment, whe ther he, or they that accus'd him of being too flow.

His Arts.

One of the best Qualities belonging to that great Genius, was to be little concern'd at what might be said, so he did what he thought was his Duty. Having fix'd this for his Rule, he proceeded in his former Method, declaring for the Commonwealth, and adding for the King; excluding Monarchical Government in all his Declarations, and keeping Emissaries in all Parts to advance the Restoring of the Monarch. He acted this Politick Part with so much Art and Capacity, that at the very Time he put in execution those Things the Republicans invented for the Destruction of the Royalists, he no ways lessen'd the Hopes his Friends gave the Royalists, that he would destroy the Republicans.

Refuses to The Method he us'd to evade the Proposal made to abjure the him of abjuring the Royal Family, an Oath as I have be.

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Proofs of his Wildom, and excellent Conduct. No fooner was he come to Whitehall, but they tender'd him that wicked Oath, and press'd him to take it; but the General, who was always prefent to himself, answer'd without any Disorder, That many of those, who were most zealous for the Commonwealth, having refus'd to take that Oath, he was too great an Enemy to factious Partiality, either to reject or take it, till they were agreed upon some Act of Uniformity in that Case; that they might meet, debate, and conclude upon something that all Men would agree to; and he would be one of the first that should submit to such Ordinances as would The Royfettle Peace and Tranquility in the Nation. alists look'd upon his Refusal, under the present Circumstances, as an infallible Testimony that Monk was for the honester Side ; the Republicans conceiv'd the less Jealoufy at it, in regard, that the General going into the Parliament House, among other Things he there propos'd for the Publick Good, in a long Speech he made, did not forget, as was then us'd in all Harangues relating to the Government, to mention the Exclusion of Monarchy, Protectorship, and all Authority residing in a fingle Person.

Another Art he dexterously made use of in that Parlia-Speech, much advanc'd the Design he had of putting the ment and Parliament upon provoking the City, that the City City at vamight be afterwards useful to him towards destroying riance.

of the Parliament. The City was so incens'd against that Affembly of Tyrants, who usurp'd an Authority, which had no other Foundation but their Crimes; that they had refolv'd not to pay any Tax impos'd to supply the Publick Wants, unless the Parliament, whose Authority to raife them they did not question, were, as it ought to be, free, and full. The Parliament fought how to cause their Ordinance to be obey'd, and to subdue those they believ'd ought to submit to them. The Speech Monk made in that Assembly, the first Time he went thither, having been deliver'd when Things were in this Posture, he took care in it to infinuate, that having been courted on his March by Petitions from feveral Communities, sometimes to give the Nationa Free-Parliament, and otherwhiles to oblige those that were fitting to re-call the Members excluded in the Year 1648, he had always answer'd, They could have no freer Par-P 3 liament

liament than that in being, to whom the Matter of the

excluded Members ought to be referr'd.

The Parliament suffer'd themselves to be deluded by way the those Tokens of Submission, and being earnest to make City Gates their Advantage of the good Disposition Monk was in for giving a blind Obedience to all the Commands of that Chains. Affembly, they gave him fuitable Orders to the fever Ends they drove at. For their only View in obliging Monk to affront the City was not the Reducing and Sub

duing of that Place; but, following the same Policyhe us'd towards them, they thought to make him odious to the People, either in order to ruin, or to engage him to bind up his Fortune to theirs. He knew better how to avoid the Snare they laid for him, than they to diffutangle themselves for that he provided for them. They firially enjoyn'd him to chastize the City, which blew up into a Flame the Publick Hatred long fince kind led against them; and he executed his Orders so dexte roufly, that no Man was offended at him. Those Or. ders were, that the City Posts, Chains, and Gates should be taken away, and several of the Prime-Citizens committed to Goal. Monk did all this, but after sucha manner, that all those who did not understand the Mr. flery thought it had been with an ill Will; and those who knew more conceiv'd fresh Hopes of his performing those Promises, which had been made to themin

private.

The Chief Officers of Monk's Army, had refus'd to Gains Friends by execute those arbitrary Commands, but the Inferior obey'd; the Behaviour of both had equally a good El jt. feet, the Refusal of the former having gain'd the Affection of all the Citizens, and the Obedience of the latter being attended by fo many outward Signs of Regret, that

none were offended at it. The General himself, from Time to Time, would let fall some Words, implying, That he executed the Orders of the City's Enemies, that he might the better ferve them as a Friend. I must obey, said he, but all this will be for the

The Meaning of those doubtful Expressions began to with Mor-clear up, when the General having fent to acquaint the ley about Parliament, that he did not think it fit to burn the City Gates, and was of Opinion they had done enough, receiv'd fresh Orders to perform all that had been enjoyn'd him. and rants Mon of th viole It is what think vern Han fpor inter or ro have I put Fag attua you > T ther ling No Offi angi

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him. He obey'd; but the Indignation of the Officers and Inhabitants growing hotter against those new Tyrants; Morley, the Lieutenant of the Tower, came to Monk, and tho' himself one of the principal Members of the Parliament, complain'd to that General of the violent Proceedings of that Affembly against the City. It is very true, laid Monk, that those Gentlemen are somewhat hasty. This is a dangerous Way of Proceeding, and methinks I fee the People almost reduc'd to that Despair, which Governors ought always to be afraid of, the' the Power be in their Hands. For my part, I only obey my Orders: Morley transported with Passion, and laying himself open to Monk, interrupting him, reply'd, It is Time you should command, or rather it is high Time for you to execute the good Designs you have for curbing the Insolence of those who govern ill. I put the Tower into your Hands. My Brother, Sir -Fagg, and I, have each of us a Regiment, both of them now adually in London. We are yours; we will stand by you; you may rely upon us.

This Discourse ended in such a Combination between The Offithem two, as was in reality the first Stroke towards pul-cers Reling down the Parliament, and restoring the Monarchy. monstrance

No fooner was Morley gone from Monk, but the prime to him. Officers of the Army came in, and accosting him in an angry manner, began their Discourse by inveighing bitterly against the Tyranny exercis'd over the Nation by a imall. Number of Men, who had wrongfully affum'd the Name of a Parliament. The Conclusion of that Railing was, that they must not only be curb'd, but absolutely disposses'd of the Authority they had so unjustly usurp'd; that there ought to be a free Parliament conven'd according to Law; that they might all together agree upon a fettled Form of Government, which might no more be disturb'd by restless, or ambitious Spirits; that the General was bound in Honour and Conscience, after so many Protestations made of his feeking nothing but the publick Interest and Peace, to take in Hand that Common Caule of the three Nations, which compos'd the Body of the British State; that it was high Time he should do so, and to show he was come upon another Defign than to execute the unjust Commands of a Gang of Tyrants, who were abhorr'd by all Men.

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This Remonstrance found Mank perfectly dispos'd to

1650 to call a free Parliament.

have its intended Effect. He was as much incens'd He agrees against the Parliament as his Officers, tho' he carry'd it with them more calmly; he perceiv'd, as they told him, that all Things conspir'd to ruin that Assembly he intended to destroy, and to call another, which he could have made up of luch Members as he lik'd; being effential Steps towards restoring of the King, and almost the only ones The Nobility, the City of London, and then wanting. most of the Countries being eagerly bent upon it; and the Army of Scotland dispos'd to obey its General's Or. ders, without Reserve. There were fill some Repub. licans with Forces under Hasterig, who had brought them back from Portsmouth. The Incendiary Vane still acted after his furious manner against the King's Interest, and fome Regiments of the old Army that fluck by him; but, besides that, those two Men had quite different Views, the General knew that their Forces, tho' united, could make no Opposition against so many great Bodies, as had declar'd they would follow the Way he should lead. Having set his Resolution upon these Considerations, the General agreed with his Officers, that without any farther Delay, the very next Day two of them should carry the Parliament a Letter, which he left them to contrive, and wherein it should be demanded in his, and the Name of the Army, that the faid Parliament should be dissolv'd, and another call'd, which should be Free and Full, as the Laws directed.

Sends to

The Letter being fign'd the next Morning by the the Rump. General, and Officers, was fent to the Parliament. Lidcot and Clobery, who carry'd it, were directed to tell the House, that Monk expected their Answer at Allen's, the Mayor of London.

Goes away into the City.

The Vifit and the General's Letter found very different Receptions. The Mayor did Monk all the Honour, and entertain'd him in the best manner he was able, and agreed with him to restore the City Common Council, which had been abolish'd by the Rump; that they would call them together to Guild-Hall, and would there come to fuch Resolutions as should be most agreeable to the present Circumstances. The Joy the General's Visit occasion'd in the City was not greater than the Consternation his Letter produc'd in the Parliament. However, that Assembly being compos'd of Men well enur'd to Bufin but t Piece Hand fpar' put h Telve ftori othe Com migh the (Com

migh ftron T fign, dinat come feat t asap the c erful to th been posa do I fome nifyi Maft pole gave the f what quel Bufi pofit of th in th enco conv perf the best

Business, were not so much surpriz'd upon that Occasion, but that they had recourse to a most refin'd, and subtle Piece of Policy. For being convinc'd, on the one Hand, that Monk was like to have all the Power, they spar'd no Pains in private, to appeale, to gain, and to put him in hopes, that they would intirely devote themfelves to him, without any Exception, but only the Restoring of the King and Kingly Government. On the other Side, concluding that nothing but Jealousy of Command, could weaken the Power of a Man in such mighty Reputation, they pais'd an Ordinance to put the Command of all the Forces in the Nation into fix Commissioners, of which Number he was one, that he might have no Cause to complain, and the others be

ftrong enough to curb his Power.

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Those who do Mank the Wrong to say he had no De-Apology for fign, at first, to restore the King, alledge it was this Or- Monk. dinance, and the Offence he took at it, that made him come to fuch a Resolution. I will not now stop to defeat that Conjecture, which is as malicious as improbable, as appears by all I have faid. Gumble, the Minister, on the contrary pretends, that at the same Time some powerful Parties offer'd to joyn Monk, in order to raile him to the Sovereign Power, in the same manner as it had been exercis'd by Cromwel, and that he rejected the Proposal. I mistrust this Account less than the other; yet do I not so much rely upon it, as if it had been told by fome other, who might be less liable to Suspicion of magnifying, than a menial Servant who was oblig'd to his Master. However that was, Monk then began to difpole Affairs for the King's Return, in such manner as gave Ground to foreige he was not far off; and that for the future, it would not meet with any Obstacles but This was not at all what were easy to be overcome. question'd after the Conference in Guild-Hall, where the Business was concerted, and the General, tho' not in positive Terms, spoke plain enough, to show he was of the same Mind, and had the same Designs as the City, in that Particular. The Acclamations of the People that Rejoycing encompals'd the Hall, whilft they fate within, and were in the City. convinc'd they were then taking the last Measures for perfecting that Affair; the Bonfires made at Night in the Streets and publick Places; the Curses every where bestow'd on the Parliament, and the Liberty the Citi-

1659 Secluded Members reftor'd.

zens took in all Companies to drink the King's Health. consirm'd all Men in that Opinion. But no Man could any longer have Cause to doubt of the Nearness of that furprizing Revolution, when they faw Monk, who had now nothing to oppose him, restore the Members se. cluded in the Year 1648. to the Parliament, and re-unite them to those that had turn'd them out. That Re-union produc'd two good Effects the General had expected; the one was, that those secluded Members prevailing above the others, caus'd him to be declar'd Generalissimo of all the Land Forces in the three Kingdoms, the Command of the Fleet having been given to Montague, after. wards created Earl of Sandwich, who had been long i profess'd Royalist. The other good Effect of that Reunion was the speedy Dissolution of the Parliament, which the fitting Members endeavour'd to have perpetuated. The Post of Generalissimo put Monk into a Condition to make an advantagious Reformation among the Forces, to put the English Army out of Capacity of doing him any Harm, and his own into a better Dilpofition to ferve him. The Diffolution of the Parliament gain'd him Time to form a new One, altogether favourable to the King, which was appointed to meet in May.

Overton brought over.

Monk was not fo wholly intent upon those Things that were nearest to him; as to neglect those that were further off. At the same Time he dispos'd the Parlament and Army in the City towards the Restoring of the King, he fecur'd the Countries, the Strong Holds, the Militia, and above all, the Nobility. The Western Counties gave him no Trouble, but he had Overton to gain in the North, who was Master of Hull. However he compass'd it, by the Affistance of Alured and Smith, who manag'd the Point so well, that they prevail'd on that obstinate Republican to submit to the General, deliver up that Strong Hold, and repair to

The King remean Treaty.

Whilft Monk proceeded in this manner, the King at the Py- confidering his Motions, did not question but they would end in a happy Revolution. He was returned into Flanders, after having taken a Journey to the Place of Congress, where the Peace was concerted between France and Spain. That Peace was concluded without any Advantage to King Charles, but some Promiles, which

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which they were not in a Condition foon to perform. Don Lewis de Haro had given him an honourable Reception, and express'd a Defire to serve him; Cardinal Mazarine had made his Excuse for not seeing him, alledging he did it to be the better able to ferve him. . Both of them defign'd it; but it was requifite the Kings their Masters, after such a long War, should have Time to furnish the English Monarch with the necessary Succours for his Restoration. In this Posture of Affairs King Charles faw no Support fo fure as Monk's. Too many Overt Acts convinc'd him of that General's labouring for him, not to be full of Hopes upon all the News he daily receiv'd of his Preparations and Proceedings; but he could have wish'd, as many others did, that he had been more expeditious, and come at last to the finishing Stroke.

Being thus impatient, after so long waiting for the unravelling of that Affair, he resolv'd to haiten him, Sends and sent the Loyal Sir John Greenvil, to desire the Ge-Greenvil neral to finish a Work so worthy of himself. The Let-to Monk, ter he sent him, was full of Expressions of Esteem, of Affection, and of the Considence he repos'd in a Man, from whom, tho' a King, he expected more than he was able to return. The Offers Greenvil made in his Name, in favour of all those who might have Cause to sear the Restoration of an Affronted, Banish'd, and Out-law'd King, were of such a Nature as might secure the most mistrussful Minds, and satisfy those who were deepest concern'd in Point of Interest. Thus the General had the Satisfaction to perceive, that what he was doing would be to the good Liking and Advantage of

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Encourag'd by this fresh Motive, Monk at last ex-Monk's plaining himself to Greenvil, told him, He might assure Answer to the King, he was wholly in his Interest; that he would him. restore him or fall by it; and that the dreadful Dissiculties he had met with in that Undertaking had been the Occasion of that Delay; that they should speedily see the Conclusion of it; but that the Affair in Hand was so very ticklish, that there could never be too much Precaution us'd in it. He added, he begg'd his Majesty would not find Fault that he did not yet write to him, and further intreated him to keep what he said very secret for some Time. Then coming to what he thought

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fit the King should do, to render the Restoration agreeable to the People, he charg'd Greenvil to tell him, he advis'd his Majesty, at his Return, to begin, by granting of Liberty of Conscience throughout the Kingdom; an Act of Oblivion for all that was past, and a Confirmation of publick Sales; and to convince him, that the Bufinels was not far from a Conclusion, he advis'd him immediately to withdraw out of the Dominions of Spain, lest that Crown, which laid hold of all Advantages, might exact some Terms contrary to what he propos'd for fuffering of him to depart.

It is eafy to guess how well the King was pleas'd with The King's & Monk's Greenvil's Account, when he return'd into Flanders, Satisfacti- Monk was no less satisfy'd on his Side, to see himself so near succeeding in the most glorious Enterprize Europe had long beheld, when an unexpected Accident fome.

what disturb'd his pleasing Hopes.

Lambert of the Tower.

Lambert, whose Ambition was not cut off by his Imescapes out prisonment, was inform'd in the Tower of London of his Rival's Success, which render'd that melancholy Abode the more disagreeable to him. Envy prevailing on that fierce, and intractable Genius, as he law Monk's Authority increase; he could not behold him upon the Point of being himself absolute, or of restoring him that was rightfully fo, without once more making an extraordinary Effort to thwart them both. That new Provocation made him ingenious to find Means to shake off his Fetters, and make his Escape out of Prison. Monk was furpriz'd, when he heard, that he had been feen with his Friends in the City, that he had tamper'd with the Army, and that having fail'd of corrupting it, he was gone away into the North, where having debauch'd some Companies of the Garrisons in those Quarters, he was aiready at the Head of a Body of Men, which increas'd daily.

Monk's Celerity was wonderful in a Man fo over-Is defeated and taken. burden'd with Bufiness, and naturally slow. He was ready to take the Field, with his Army, in order to pursue Lambert, and fight him, when the News was hrought him of that Fugitive's being no longer in a Con-The General had been so discreet dition to hurt him. as to fend before, the Brigades of Ingoldsby and Streeter, under those two Colonels; who march'd with such Expedition, that they came up with Lambert beyond Da.

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1660.

Earl of Carlifle, posted himself with another Body, in a Place proper to prevent other Rebels from joyning their Chief. Those two little Armies observ'd one another a confiderable Time, after they were in fight, before they ingag'd. Lambert seem'd to be unsettled, and it was suppos'd, by the Spies he sent before, under Colour of Treating, that he had no good Account of his Enemies Forces. Ingoldsby was sensible of the Design, and would not fuffer any of his Men to advance to speak to them. He discours'd them himself, without discovering who he was, and the Interview coming to nothing, he caus'd his Troops to advance briskly, charging the Rebels fo fuccessfully, that they were routed, and Lambert retaken, whom he carry'd back in Triumph to London, where Monk, who was ready to fet out, return'd him to the Tower, well pleas'd that he had been fav'd the Trouble of an Expedition, which would have retarded the Conclusion of the Business he was bringing to a Period. This Accident secur'd the Success of it. The Parliament meeting at that Time, enter'd upon no other Debate, but how they should receive the King. It is The Parlivery remarkable, that most of those, who had been his ament de-

very remarkable, that most of those, who had been his ament degreatest Enemies, express'd the greatest Zeal for his Ho-clares for nourable Reception, and had it depended only on those, the King, who till then had been the most violent against Monar-

chical Government, Charles the Second would have had the Honour of restoring the Crown of England to its ancient Prerogatives. It is reported, that Chancellor Hyde, being led by that English Spirit, which is always jealous of the Liberty of the Nation, did not let that Prince see all the Advantages he might reap from that good Disposition of the Minds of the People. Some also say, that Monk himself was not altogether free from that inveterate Passion, and that he, as well as Hyde, contrived, to circumscribe the Royal Authority within those Bounds set to it by that they falsly call the Liberties of the Nation. Bating that Point, nothing was omitted, that might express the utmost Zeal for his Majesty's Restoration, and he could wish no more to make his happy Return agreeable.

The Parliament meeting in the Two Houses, accor-The King's ding to ancient Custom, Greenvil, who was come again Letters to to London for that Purpose, repair'd to Westminster with them,

the

1660.

the King's Letters for that Affembly. The Substance of them was, that his Majesty had rather chose to expect his Restoration from the Affections of his good Subjects, than from the Succours offer'd him on all Hands by Foreign Potentates; that Experience had fufficiently shown what Success might be expected towards fettling of the Publick Peace, from the Attempts the Spirit of Rebellion puts Turbulent Persons upon against the Legal Authority; that altho' Heaven had permitted those who had attack'd it in England to gain all the Advantages over it that the most unbounded Ambition could wish, yet Providence had confounded, and involv'd them yet deeper than others in those Calamities they had brought upon the Nation; that it only remain'd the Parliament should restore Things to their natural Channel, and take to themselves the Honour of being Mediators between the Sovereign and the People; that he fent them a Declaration which he hop'd would be Satisfactory, and to which he was ready to add whatfoever they should think proper for the Security of those concern'd. This Letter was heard with Respect, and was first answer'd with a confus'd Hum of Approbation, which was redoubled upon the reading of the Declaration as follows.

His Majesty's Gracious Declaration to all his Loving Subjects.

CHARLES R.

claration.

His Ma- " CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of England, jefty's De." Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the " Faith, &c. To all our Loving Subjects of what De-" gree or Quality soever, Greeting. If the General Di-" Araction and Confusion which is spread over the " whole Kingdom, doth not awake all Men to a Defire " and Longing, that those Wounds which have so many

"Years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, " all We can say will be to no Purpose. However after " this long Silence, We have thought it our Duty to

" declare, how much We desire to contribute thereunto. " And that as We can never give over the Hope in " good Time to obtain the Possession of that Right,

" which God and Nature have made Our Due; fo We

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do make it Our Daily Suit to the Divine Providence, that He will, in Compassion to Us and Our Subjects, after so long Misery and Sufferings, Remit, and put Us into a quiet Possession of that Our Right, with as little Blood and Damage to Our People as is possible:
Nor do We desire more to Enjoy what is Ours, than that all Our Subjects may Enjoy what by Law is theirs, by a full and entire Administration of Justice throughout the Land, and by extending our Mercy

where it is wanted and deferv'd.

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" And to the End that the Fear of Punishment may not engage any Conscious to themselves of what is past, to a Perseverance in Guilt for the Future, by opposing the Quiet and Happiness of their Country. in the Restoration both of King, Peers and People, to their Just, Ancient and Fundamental Rights, We do by these Presents declare, That We do grant a Free and General Pardon, which We are ready, upon Demand, to pass under Our Great Seal of England, to all Our Subjects of what Degree and Quality foever; who within Forty Days after the Publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this Our Grace and Favour, and shall by any publick Act declare their doing so, and that they return to the Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects; excepting only fuch Persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament. Those only excepted, let all Our Subjects, how faulty foever, rely upon the Word of a King, folemnly given by this prefent Declaration, That no Crime whatfoever committed against. Us, or our Royal Father, before the Publication of this, shall ever rise in Judgment, or be brought in Question, against any of them, to the least Endamagement of them, either in their Lives, Liberties, or Estates, or (as far forth as lies in Our Power) so much as to the Prejudice of their Reputations, by any Reproach, or Term of Distinction from the rest of any of Our best Subjects; We Desiring and Ordaining, That henceforth all Notes of Discord, Separation, and Difference of Parties, be utterly abolish'd among all Our Subjects, whom We invite and conjure to a perfect Union among themselves, under Our Protection, for the Re-fettlement of Our Just Rights, and Theirs, in a Free Parliament, by, which, upon the Word of a King, We will be advis'd. " And

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"And because the Passion and Uncharitableness of the Times have produc'd several Opinions in Religion, by which Men are ingag'd in Parties and Animosities against each other, which, when they shall hereafter arise in a Freedom of Conversation, will be compos'd, or better understood; We do declare a Liberty to Tender Consciences; And that no Man shall be disquieted or call'd in question for Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and that We shall be ready to consent to such an set of Parliament, as upon mature Deliberation shall be offer'd to Us, for the full granting that Induling gence.

"And because in the continu'd Distractions of so many Years, and so many and great Revolutions, many Grants and Purchases of Estates have been made to and by many Officers, Soldiers and others, who are now posses'd of the same, and who may be liable to Actions at Law, upon several Titles; We are likewise willing that all such Distrements, and all Things relating to the said Grants, Sales, and Purchases, shall be determin'd in Parliament, which can best provide for the just Satisfaction of all Men, who are con-

"cern'd.
"And We do further declare, That We will be ready to Consent to any At, or Ats of Parliament to the Purposes aforesaid; And for the full Satisfaction of all Arrears due to the Officers and Soldiers of the Army, under the Command of General Monk, and that they shall be received into our Service upon as good Pay and Conditions as they now enjoy.

Given under Our Sign Manual and Privy Signet, at Our Court of Breda, this 14th Day of April, 1660, in the Twelfth Year of Om Reign.

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This Declaration having entirely dispos'd the Minds 1660. of Men to receive the King with Joy, Clarges, Brother-in-law to Monk, was fent away to affure that Meffages Prince of the Impatience wherewith his Majesty was to the expected to return to the Throne of his Ancestors. Kings Not only the Parliament, but the City and Army, writ Letters expressing their entire Submission. Many Commissioners follow'd those Letters; Fairfax was, one of that Number, and with him several others of Cromwel's most noted Adherents, who at this Time express'd more Forwardness for his Majesty's Restoration than any of his old Servants. They found him at the Hague, whither his Majesty was gone for Conveniency of Shipping. They were receiv'd in such Manner as convinc'd them, that the present Service blotted out the Memory of past Wrongs. Several Points were afterwards agreed on, wherein both Sides cut short all Difficulties by mutual Comply-The King excepted some of those who were deepest ingag'd in the Murder of his Father, from the Act of Oblivion; no Man seem'd unwilling to consent to it, and those Vile Miscreants at several Times receiv'd the Reward due to fo great a Vil-

After these Remains of Melancholy Thoughts, they Foreigwholly apply'd themselves to celebrate the King's ners con-Return to his Kingdoms with all possible Expressi-plimens ons of Joy. This was begun at the Hague, where him the States, Foreign Princes, and their Ministers, complimented the King; all Persons expressing a Zeal, which they had nothing of before he began to be for-

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In the mean while he was proclaim'd at London, He lands with such Shouts of Joy as eccho'd throughout all En-in England. Nothing was thought of but the Preparations glands for his solemn Reception, and every Man coveted to have a Share in them. Many of the Prime Nobility went to the Sea Side to attend him at his Landing; General Monk was at the Head of them, on whom the People, all the Way he went, bestow'd Millions of Blessings, looking upon him as the Restorer of the Publick Peace, after so many Troubles. Another Spectacle drew all their Eyes to Dover Road on the 25th of May. Montague, who commanded the Fleet,

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Fleet, went to Scheveling for the King, four Days before, and return'd with his Majesty, and the Dukes of York and Gloucester a-board. They had a good Pasfage, the Fleet arriving fafe in 48 Hours, and resto. ring England to its former Splendour, together with its King. Monk receiv'd him on his Knees, but his Ma. jesty raising embrac'd him, and from that Day, having created him Duke of Albemarle, never ceas'd loading him with Honours, Favours, and Acknow. ledgments, which that famous Man feem'd to be the more worthy of, in regard his Zeal for his Sovereign had inspir'd him with an Activity which was not in his Nature; for when that Affair was over, he infenfibly fell back into his own Temper. No two Men are more unlike one another, than was the Duke of Albemarle and General Monk. The General was Politick, Active, and had a Hand, and an Eye every where. The Duke leading an uniform Course of Life, Unactive, and free from Intrigue, feem'd to be Heavy, and had become Obscure, were it possible for Time to fully, or Oblivion to blot out the Lustre fix'd on him by the Glorious Action I have last mention'd.

His Recep-

The City of London receiv'd his Majesty with all possible Magnificence. The Parliament gave him no Trouble, and feem'd fo ready to tonfent to whatfoever he should demand, that Wife Men to this Day affirm, if he had known how to improve that Opportunity, he would without the least Opposition have put his own and the Peace of his Successors out of Danger of being disturb'd. A Person of Credit has told me, that he had it from the Earl of Bath, that Alexander Popham, a Man of Intrigue, and great Capacity, offer'd the King, with the Affistance of a Party he had in the Parliament, to prevail on that Affembly to pass an Act for Settling on him and his Heirs for ever, Two Millions and Two Hundred Thousand Pounds per Annum, by way of Subhdy, which with the Revenue of Excise and other Duties, would have made him a rich Prince; that his Majesty had been well pleas'd with the Proposal; but that advising about it with Hyde, that Minister anfwer'd, That the best Revenue he could have would be the gaining the Hearts of his Subjects; that he

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pught to trust to them, and would find such Supplies as should never fail him at a Time of Need. If the Chancellor spoke as he thought, the Sequel of this History will make it appear, that wife Men do not always judge right. The King gave Credit to him, and his Moderation added to the Parliament's Complaifance. The Revolution ended in the Restoration of the Bihops, the Liturgy, and the Church of England, without any Opposition. Thus all Things were as they had been before. The King sometime after marry'd atharine, Infanta of Portugal. He might have reign'd n Peace, could the Protestants have endur'd, that he who dy'd a Catholick, should show some Toleration o fuch of his Subjects as were fo, and had they notone about to oblige him to Difinherit his Suceffor, for being of a Religion he would willingly ave profes'd himself; That new Leven of Revoluions concerns the Life of King James the Second, with which I defign to conclude this History.

The End of the Second BOOK.

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BOOK III.

The Turns and Changes in England during the Life and Reign of King JAMES the Second.

Introdu-

Here is one Fault hardly to be avoided in writing the History of England, which is, to introduce the extraordinary Events we are to Treat of, by faying, That tho' the Revolutions before mention'd have been surprizing, yet that which is to follow surpasses them all. The same Fault will be found in this Work, I own it, and do not stand corrected; because that Preamble suits not so well with the Life of any King of England as that of King James the Second, which is to conclude this History of Catastrophees in the British Monarchy. The Posture that Prince's Affairs are in at this Time had once made me

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resolve to defer the Publishing of this Book, till they were in a more settled Condition; but so many Persons, with whom I am oblig'd to comply, have importun'd me to publish this remaining Part of English Histo y, not yet compleatly handled by any Author in our Language, that I could no longer withstand them. I have been the more willing to comply, in Regard of the great Injustice I find in such Writings, as have appear'd abroad concerning this Revolution, most of them compos'd either by Sectaries, or inveterate Persecutors of a Catholick King, or unreasonable Flatterers of a Protestant Prince they made use of to destroy the other. I hope I shall avoid the Rock they have split on, and being justly charg'd with inveighing difrespectfully against the one, that I may meanly extol the other.

The Duke of York, fince his Accession to the Crown The Duke call'd King James the Second, had imploy'd his Youth of York of in the continual Exercise of Arms. He had always ap- a Martial ply'd himself to it, from the Age of Nine Years, Temper.

when he was with his Father at Edgbill Fight, till the Age of 27, when he return'd into England with his Brother. His Genius led him that Way. This was This was so evident, that a Man of Quality of our Country, having taken a Journey to London some Time after the Restoration of King Charles, among other judicious Remarks upon what he had seen, speaking of the Duke of York, declar'd, That tho' the faid Prince's Interest ought to keep him to the Court, he rather chose to be in the Army, and that he valu'd any Opportunity of fignalizing his Courage above the greatest Political Advantages. This is both Commendable and Blame-worthy, I know not whether the Duke deserv'd the Blame, but all Europe was convinc'd that he was worthy of the Praise, and the Commendations given his Valour by the Prince of Conde, and Mareschal Turenne, those two great Masters of the Art of War, will remain his Eternal Monuments.

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He gave fresh Proofs of it in the War the King his 1665. Brother declar'd against the States of Holland, in the Defeats the Year 1665, and the Victory he gain'd over them at Sea Dutch. show'd the Duke to be as good a Commander in Chief, as he had been Officer and Soldier. Two and Twenty of the Enemies Ships were then taken, burnt, or funk by the English; Opdam the Dutch General perishing

1665.

there in his. That Fleet had been totally deftroy'd, had not one Bronkard of the Duke's Bedchamber preven ted the Execution of his Orders the very Night after the Victory. The Duke lay down to take a little Reft. after giving Orders to make all Sail, and keep up with the Remainder of the broken Navy. That Gentleman, who was none of those that value their Honour above their Life, told the Captain he was too lavish in expo. fing the Heir of the Crown, and counterfeited another Order from him for flack ning Sail; which was unad visedly done : He was disgrac'd, and the Parliament would have brought him to a Tryal; but he was difcarded, and that Assembly, in the Name of all the Na tion, made a Publick Acknowledgment to the Victor of the Service he had done the Kingdom, affigning him by an Act fill preferv'd among the Records, a Graul fication of almost a Million and a Half.

His great

1666.

This Victory having added new Lustre to the Duke Reputation of York, he was in the happiest and most agreeable Condition a Prince of his Degree could be. He had an efter blish'd Reputation, not only in England, where they look'd upon him, as the Support of the Nation; but throughout all Europe, where he was regarded as oned the Princes of his Time, who best maintain'd the Grandear of his Birth by his Personal Merit. He enjoy'd most of the great Places of Profit and Honour; was Lord High Admiral of England, and Governor of the Cinque Ports, and of Portsmouth. He having Children, and the King none, abundance of People follow'd him, as the Heir to the Crown, which was to pass away to his Head, and remain in his Family; and what made this the happier, the King was not Jealous of him. His Majefty being fully convinc'd of his Affection to him, look'd upon that Prince's Court as the most Loyal Part of his own, and thought he had no furer Friends than the Duke of York's. I am fenfible some Politicians thought ill of it, and err'd with those, who to be thought to see farther into Mysteries of State than others do, report whatfoever they imagine, and not what really is. The Truth is, that the King never had any Jealousy of the Duke, and that the Dake from his Infancy ever behave himself so Submissively towards the King, that he had no Occasion to suspect him; a Thing very rare between two Brothers of that Rank, and in a Court fo full of Reftleis

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1666.

less and Factious Spirits, as that of England has long been. By this it appears, that all Parties equally made Interest to the Duke of York, and that what loever Way he leant the Ballance inclin'd. In other Respects all Men being naturally convinc'd, that he was of an undaunted Spirit, and not likely to connive with fuch as should dare to declare themselves his Enemies, every 1667. one was afraid of provoking him, and none would venture to incur his Displeasure, much less his Aver-

This was the Duke of York's Condition, and thus Suspetted were Men's Minds dispos'd towards him; when a Jea-to be a loufy spread abroad of his being a Catholick in his Heart, Catholick. tho' he still outwardly appear'd as a Protestant, beginning to withdraw the Affections of Men from him, gave

the first Shock to his Prosperity.

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That Jealoufy was well grounded. The Duke was His Conindeed a Catholick, and the Memory of his Conversion version, deferves to be preferv'd in History. Many have been of Opinion that his Mother's Zeal, her good Example and Instructions, he having always been very observant of her, were the Cause of that Change; and that his long converfing with Catholicks in France, Flanders, and other Places, had so back'd his first Thoughts, as at length to produce that Effect. But they have been deceiv'd in this Particular, as well as in many other Things, where for want of knowing the certain Truth, Recourse is had to Probabilities. The same hap'ned to the Duke of York, which Sacred History informs us befel one of the Ancients, and was to find that which was to cure his Blindness, in the Gall of a Monster that would have devour'd him. For it was the reading the History of the pretended Reformation, written by a Protestant Author, which discover'd to that Prince the Error he had been born in. It was at Bruffels, after his leaving France, when having leifure enough to read, he lighted upon Heylin's History. He read it with Attention, and plainly faw through all the Pretexts the Protestants use for Justifying their Schilm, that the laid Separation, so opposite to the Maxim of Unity, whereon the Church is founded, had been the Product of Human Passions; that King Henry the VIIIth's Luft, the Duke of Somerfet's Ambition, Queen Elizabeth's Policy, and the Avarice of those who had first posses'd themselves of the Church

The History of the Revolutions in England,

Church Lands, had been the Occasions of that Change, wherein the Spirit of God had no Share. He knew God had always made use of Prophets, whose Lives were Holy, to guide and instruct his People, whensoever he was to fignifie his Will to them in Religious Matters; That upon the changing of the Law, the Gospel had been promulgated by the Apostles, supported by a Di. vine Virtue, and more like Angelsthan other Men; that upon every Relaxation hap'ning under both the Tella. ments, they were not Carnal, Revengeful, and Ambitious Men that preach'd up Reformation, but such a were full of the Spirit of Moses, or rather of JESU CHRIST, the only Vehicles fit to convey the Water flowing from those living Springs, that we may not fulpest their being defil'd in their Passage to us. These rational Reflections open'd the Duke of York's Eyes; from that Time he became a Catholick in his Heart, and with this Disposition he return'd into England at the Refloration.

Many weighty Reasons at first oblig'd him to conkept fecret, ceal that Change from publick View; he trufted the King his Brother with the Secret, who commended him, but defir'd he would so far prevail upon himselfs not to let it be known. This held for some Time, but could not last always. The Duke, infensibly growing heedless, and keeping a less Watch upon himself thanhe had done, gave others the Opportunity to observe him, and conclude, that he was not of the Religion of his Country. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and two of his Brethren reprov'd him; he had the Patience to hear, and did not refuse to Confer with them; but their Atguments were fo far from fhaking, or altering, that they rather confirm'd him in his Faith.

verted.

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After fuch Proceedings there was no more pretenthese con-ding to make a Secret of that Prince's Religion, all his Friends could do was to fave its being too publickly known. His first Wife, Daughter to Chancellor Hyde, dying a Catholick, was look'd upon as an undeniable Testimony of her Husband's Religion. It was given out, that she had been converted out of Complaisance to him, but it was false. The Dutchels, by a ftrange Accident was converted upon reading the same Book that had wrought upon the Duke. How false soever that Report was, the Protestants would believe it, and that confirm'd

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firm'd them in the Opinion, that his Highness was no longer one of them. In short, soon after the Death of that Princels, he abjur'd his Error, which he had not done ill then, and return'd to the Faith of St. Edward, whose Crown he was to wear. From that time it plainly appear'd he loft the Affections of the Sectaries, and as their Love declin'd, so did their Esteem. Some of the Duke's Friends observing this Change, defir'd him to curb himfelf; the King his Brother urg'd him again, and all Men represented to him, that tho' it was no longer time for him to counterfeit what he was not, yet it was not convenient he should own what he was. this Advice, and this Contradiction to his own Inclination was the easier to him, in regard that an extraordinary Project gave him some Hopes of that Liberty he wish'd for.

In the Year 1670, the Court of England perceiving that the Republican Spirit was infenfibly creeping into the Parliament again, meditated how to remedy that Evil, under K. which foreboded many more. Five Lords were the Ma-Charles. nagers of that Defign, who were call'd the Cabal, from the ftrict Union among them, as also because the first Letters of their Names put together made the Word Cabal. One of them was the King's Favourite, and the other four his Ministers, all of them in high Posts, and of great Interest in the Council. Each of those five Men fingly was not without his Faults; but all put together, compos'd a Body, that wanted little to bring about the greatest Designs. The Duke of Buckingham, the King's TheirCha-Favourite, was very capable of being a Minister of State, racters. had not his Mind, which was excellently endow'd, been drawn away from Bufiness by a high Degree of Lewdness, and such an entire Refignation to his Pleafures, as made him trivial, tho' born as fit as any Man for folid Affairs. The Duke of Landerdale, a Scot, and Secretary of State for that Kingdom, was a sharp-fighted Man, and refin'd Politician. The Lord Treasurer Clifford wanted nothing but a Stage, on which found Reason and Virtue had been more in use than they were in his native Country, in his Age, to appear superior to the others. The Earl of Arlington, Secretary of State in England, had the least Genius of the five; but his Experience made amends, and had gain'd him great Knowledge in Foreign Affairs. Anthony Albley Cooper,

1670.

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2670. Earl of Shafesbury, and Lord Chancellor, a famous A tor in the foregoing Troubles of England, was the fittest of them to manage any great Undertaking, and the very Soul of this we now speak of. A mighty Ge. nius, clear-fighted, bold, full of Intrigue, equally fled dy, whether on the right, or on the wrong Side, a long as those he adher'd to gave him no Occasion in change; a constant Friend, but an implacable Enemy and the more dangerous, for that having no Regard in Religion and Conscience, it was the easier for him to contrive Mischief, as being no way daunted by the Multitude or Heinquinefs of any Crimes, provided he thought them necessary, either to preserve himself, a to deffroy those that had incurr'd his Hatred.

Their De-

These Lords being link'd to their Master by their high figns for Places and Favours receiv'd, could not without India the King. nation observe what Advances the Republican Spirit which began to rouse again, had caus'd the Parliament to make against the Regal Authority. Among other Things, the Triple League, the Republican Cabal had prevail'd on the King to conclude against his own Inclination, appear'd to them as an audacious Incroachment on the Prerogative, the Consequences whereof were to be prevented. Upon these Grounds, they perswaded the King to be as absolute as the Crown, and the Law of the Nation entitl'd him to be; to confine the Parlia ment to the Bounds prescrib'd them by immemoral Custom; and to take care that a Mixture of Common wealth and Monarchy, introduc'd by Violence and the Subjects Usurpations on their Sovereign, did not produce a monftrous Anarchy, which might again bring England into the Danger of falling into that dreadful Confusion, it was scarce recover'd from.

To bring this about it was necessary to have a War, ons from which might furnish the King with a Pretence to raile the Dutch an Army; and this they had against the Dutch, being the more favourable, because the Honour and the Inte-

rest of the English Nation were equally concern'd; for the old Controverly about the Sovereignty of the Sea was renew'd, and the East India Merchants continually complain'd that they were infulted by the Dutch. This I fay, was the Pretence; but the true Reason for pitching opon this War rather than any other, was the first Union between the English Republicans and those of

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Holland; these last never ceasing to instil into the Minds 1670. of the others that Love of Liberty they fo much glory n; to put them out of Conceit with Monarchy, and to tir them up to cast off the Yoke of legal Dominion, beng always ready to support any Factions that attack'd it. They had also for some Time affronted the King peronally, by their scandalous Lampoons, which were applauded in Holland instead of being suppress'd, and the

Authors found out and punish'd.

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It fell out fortunately for the pulling down of that To France Support of the Republican Party, that his most Chrihian Majesty also complain'd against the Dutch, and had very great Reasons; for besides those which regarded that Monarch's Person, whom they treated no better han the King of England, he had others that concern'd he State. He had made War on Spain for the Inheriance of the Queen his Wife, after the Death of King Philip the 4th, whose Daughter she was. His Arms had been extraordinary successful; for he had taken Doway, Tournay, Lifle, and all Franche Comte. The Dutch were larm'd at this Progress made by a young King, who was powerful, ambitious of Honour, and by his Conquests frew nearer and nearer to them. This Cause of Fear was more prevalent over the Hollanders than the Gratitude they ow'd him, for having very lately join'd with them gainst England; and they had brought into a League against him not only England, but Sweden and Denmark, and fought all Occasions to anger and provoke him.

These Discontents in a King, on whom the Eyes of England all Europe were fixt, and who was in a Condition not & France much to need to hide his Resentments, were not un-in League. known in London, and too favourable to the Projects then in hand not to be made use of. For this reason, the Term of the Triple League being expir'd, instead of renewing it, as the Dutch defir'd, the English Minifters enter'd upon a Treaty with those of France, in order to conclude an Alliance between the two Crowns, that might help to promote their Defigns. Monfieur Colbert de Croiffy treated in England, and the Duke of Buckingham in France: Madame, the late Dutchels of Orleams concluded it, when the made that mysterious Voyage be-

yond the Sea.

The Particulars of that Treaty are not for my Pur-Liberty of pole, bating one Article, which relates to Religion, and Consciences

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had too much Influence over the Duke of York's Lifeto be here omitted. The Presbyterians had put the King to some Trouble during the first Holland War, being offended at the attacking of a People of their own Prin ciples, and whom they look'd upon as their Support. For the removing of any such Obstacle against the Wa in hand, and to pacify those turbulent Spirits, Shafts. bury propos'd granting of Liberty of Conscience, eftablish'd by the Declaration at Breda, and afterwards taken

For the clearing of this Point it is to be understood,

away by the Parliament.

Debates about it.

that some Time after the King's Restoration, Monk's Patliament having been diffolv'd, as not conven'd by legil Authority, and therefore not to be own'd as a real Par. liament, King Charles call'd another. There were great Debates in that Assembly about Liberty of Conscience, between the Protestants and the Catholicks, the Church of England and the Presbyterians. The Catholick Party was supported by the Earl of Bristol, a Man in great Repute, and Head of a potent Faction; the Protestant Party by Chancellor Hyde, chief of an opposite Faction, and a Person of no less Consideration, who putting himself at the Head of the prevailing Church of Eng. land Party in that Parliament, declar'd not only against the Catholicks, but against the Presbyterians, and all those the Church of England calls Nonconformists. The King, who was no good Christian in his Actions, but Catholick in his Heart, did all that could be expected from his easy Temper, to maintain the common Liber. ty, that so the Catholick Church might have share in it; but the Church of England prevail'd, and Chancellor Hyde was so hot upon that Point, that his Majesty was oblig'd to yield rather to his Importunity than to his Reasons.

It was the restoring of that Liberty of Conscience to upon, andtaken away, that Shafesbury thought requifite for carry ing on the Defign in Hand. He communicated it with his Colleagues, who were of the same Opinion, not only on account of the Reason he urg'd, which was the gain-

ing of the Presbyterians, whom they fear'd; but upon another, which he easily approv'd of, and was the tavouring of the Catholicks, whom most of them lov'd, and all had an Esteem for. Clifford and Arlington were 10 in private, and both dy'd in the Church; the Duke of

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Buckingham needed no Conversion as to Opinion, could he have prevail'd with himself as to Libertinism. Shafesbury himself was not very averse to it, as long as Interest and Malice did not carry him over to another Party, from that he was inclin'd to. But tho' they had not much regard to Religion as to themselves, those Politicians, who at that Time made little Account of it any otherwise than with respect to the Monarchy, were fully perswaded, notwithstanding all the old Slanders of the Sectaries, that the Principles of the Catholick Church, are the best to keep the People in their due Submission to Kings; and Experience had convinc'd them, that whether in Prosperity or Adversity, their Master had never found thore loyal Subjects than the Catholicks. Upon this Confideration, they concluded it was the highest Injustice that such loyal Subjects should not enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion; but on the contrary, should be oppress'd and harass'd above all other Nonconformists, by Acts of Parliament pass'd fince the Fire of London, which the Protestants had laid to their Charge, without any other Reason but their Malice. It is easy to believe the King readily comply'd with them, being himself always of that Opinion till Death, bating what Policy prevail'd on him to act counter, and that the Duke of York us'd all his Interest to support them. All the Debate was, concerning the Extent of that Liberty, and the two Kings acting in concert, that Affair was handled in their Treaty. Several Proposals were made, some more, some less, Advantagious to the Catholicks; France was for the more moderate, as lafest, and most leasonable, and it was agreed, that his Majesty should grant Liberty of Conscience to all his Subjects in general.

The Proclamation for Liberty of Conscience was soon War profollow'd by the Declaration of War. The People dislik'd claim'd. neither, having been prepar'd for both by well-penn'd Declarations, showing them what Advantage the Nation would reap, by the publick Tranquility that Liberty would produce, and by the weak'ning of a State that

ruin'd their Trade in all Parts.

Thus the People of England contentedly beheld the opening of the glorious Campaign in 1672. The Duke Fight with of York, who commanded the Royal Navy of England, the Dutch. having joyn'd the Count D'Estrees, fince Mareichal of

The History of the Revolutions in England, 238

1672. France, and Vice Admiral, fought the Ruyter, at South wold Bay. The Dutch did not grant all the Advantage the English pretended to have had in that Fight. Is short, the Event of the first Day's Action was very uncertain; but the next Day, tho' the Ruyter thought to have furpriz'd the Duke at Anchor; that Prince gave him fuch a warm Reception, that he purfu'd him to the Flats, and had not a Fog that rose hinder'd his Sight, had totally defeated him; above 15 of the Dutch Ships having been un-masted, un-rigg'd, and made unfit for Service the first Time they engag'd.

French

Whatfoever Controversy there might be about the Conquests. Success of the Fleets, the Land Army gain'd so much that the Commonwealth of Holland was upon the brink of Ruin. The Arms of France, led by a warlike King in Person, in less than two Months, had conquer'd 04 foy, Burich, Rhinbergue, Wefel, Beez, Emmerick, the Fon of Scenk, Grave, and Naerden; the fine Towns of Dutburgh, Arnhem, Nimeguen, Zutphen, and Utrecht. last Conquest brought the Dutch to the Feet of the two Kings, to fue for Peace, which those Monarchs would not grant, unless on such Terms, as reduc'd those Republicans to the Condition they would have then in; yet such as all those Peoples Misfortunes, the almost subdu'd, could not prevail with them to as cept of.

It was thought that Despair rather than Courage in desperate. fluenc'd the Resolutions the Conquer'd then came to They drowned their own Country, and ruin'd all the best Parts the Inundation could not reach, to prevent its falling into the Hands of the Enemies. Yet is is like ly all this had only ferv'd to add to their Losses, had all the English Joyn'd in promoting their King's Interest, as all the French were unanimous in advancing the Glory of theirs; and there is no question, but that the next Campaign the Fall of Holland had overthrown the Support of the English Republicans, could King Charles have answer'd for his own Subjects as well as King Lewis. By ill Fortune the former too foon flood in need of his Parliament's Affistance, and it had always been rightly concluded, that the Republican Party which crept into that Affembly, would obstruct the granting of Supplies. There was still more reason to think so after the Success of the Campaign, which had reviv'd the English Hatred

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France, the Protestants Jealousy of the Catholicks, d the Republicans Malice against the King, who joyn'd th the French to undermine the Bulwark of their Facon. It had been hop'd that those Mutterings would Treachery t be worth regarding, and they must have prov'd ofin Eng-Consequence, had there been Money enough to car-land. on the War, without being oblig'd to the Parliaent, but wrong Measures had been taken. Besides the ft Mistake in computing the Charges of the War, ey had reckon'd upon uncertain Funds, which fail'd. he Ministers had flatter'd the King, that they should prize the Dutch Fleet returning home richly laden m Smyrna, with an immense Treasure; but the Milderstanding between those that commanded the Eng-Fleet disappointed the King in that Particular, hich in its self was unjust, because the War was not en declar'd. They would have had Recourse to Loans 5 t the King had loft his Credit by a fort of Bankrupt his inisters had advis'd him to, in shutting up the Excheer, which is the Place where the Interest of what e King borrows is paid.

The Duke of York had at first foreseen those Inconve-The King encies. His Knowledge in Sea Affairs had caus'd him in Want. declare there was not Money enough to go through the what was intended. He could neither approve of a surprizing of the Fleet, nor of the shutting up of the schequer, and had foretold the ill Consequences of that regular Proceeding. The King, too late, perceiv'd at Prince had been in the Right. After the Campaign ove-mention'd, he began to want Money, and apply'd the Bankers; but those who us'd to supply him upon surgent Necessities were exhausted at this Time, and

was oblig'd against his Will to have Recourse to the rliament, to ask their Assistance.

The Parliament met about the latter end of the Year, The Parso foon perhaps for the King to carry his Point, the liament atch gaining them over by means of a powerful Allistwarts ce, in which the House of Austria was concern'd, to him. aintain the War. Thus when the King had made nown his Wants, instead of Money he had nothing but omplaints of his Conduct, and particularly as to Relion. The ill Humour they were in carry'd them so ras to find Fault with the Duke of York's second Marage with Mary D'Este, now Queen. They presented

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an Address to obstruct that Match, and his Majesty wa fain to wait a proper Opportunity to bring that Prince That was not the Bufiness which most is to London. cens'd the Commons; the Liberty of Conscience, the Alliance with France, and the War with Holland, wen more to their Hearts. However, the Republicans m daring, as yet, to charge the King with fo many Pa ticulars, fluck to the first, as the likeliest to ingage but the Parliament and the People. That prov'd the right The People took the Cue; and the Parlie ment fell upon that Bufiness with such a Heat as given Colour to Audaciousnels, when so manag'd as to be mistaken for Zeal. They positively declar'd, the King should have no Money, unless he recall'd the Libert of Confeience.

King Charles had never been so perplex'd fince h

pinions a- Restoration. He was loth to take away the Liberty bout Li- Conscience, but he wanted Money. What trouble

him most was, that his Friends, and all the Court wer Conscience. divided; some advising him to yield to the pressing N ceffity of getting a Supply, and to use some Compla fance with those that could give it him; and others fwading him from yielding a Point so necessary form fing his Authority to fuch a Pitch as would enable his to act as a King. Among the first were, not only the Duke of Ormand, and several other Protestants, zealou for their Religion, but even the Earl of Arlington, Man fearful, and naturally yielding, who supported fuch as arguing from other Principles than the Geniu of the English, thought the fafest Method was to give way for a while to their Heat, in order to bring then back the more securely to their Duty, when the Duty were subdu'd. The Duke of York, and the Ministers were of another Mind, not only with Respect to the Catholick Religion confider'd in it felf, and with Re gard to the Monarchy; but because they thought it Consequence that the King should be steady in his Relo lutions, against the Attempts of an Assembly that wa too apt to oppose them. They still remember'd, how the Parliament in 1640. had dealt with King Charles the First, as soon as he condescended to their first Proposals and faid, they faw no less Cause to fear in the present Circumstances, for no sooner would the King recal the Liberty of Conscience, but they would fet up some thei hey ole t voul ind i nter iam olyan ure Perfo Days efty Muti n F

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ther Demands, which would never have an End, till hey were carry'd so high, that the King not being ale to grant them, without undoing himself, Things would be left in the same Condition they then were; nd after a thousand Condescensions prejudicial to his nterest, he would be at last fain to break with the Pariament, and all the Fruit he should reap of his Complyance, would be the making that Affembly for the fuure the Bolder in contradicting of him. These same Persons added, that his holding his Resolution a few Days, would bring the Parliament to Reason, his Maefty having a Party among them that began to make the Mutiniers waver; and that there were Forces enough in Foot to support the one Side and daunt the other; haftsbury undertaking to answer for the Success.

These Reasons vigorously urg'd on both Sides, held Liberty of he King in suspence. It has been suspected that the Conscience Women ingag'd in this Affair, and prevail'd with King recall'd. harles to follow the Advice of those who were for realling the Liberty of Conscience; however it hapben'd, he recall'd it, and with his own Hands broke the Great Seal of England that was to it. No sooner had he lone so, but all that fell out, which those who would have diffwaded him had foretold. The Parliament put to Bounds to their Demands, and seem'd to be possess'd by the same Spirit as that was which had drove King Charles the First to such Extremities. The Event was not so fatal to the Son as it had been to the Father, but t wanted not much, and in other Respects there was litle Difference in their Proceedings against him. ther of those Parliaments in the Bulk of them laid those horrid Defigns against the Lives of their Sovereigns, which some private Cabals brought to Light in the End; but each of them had its Cromwel, the second of which was much the more to be fear'd, because he took shorter and more decifive Measures to attain his End.

The Earl of Shaftsbury was the turbulent Man I Speak Shaftsbuof. So much Justice must be done him as to say, that ry. having been a Republican in the Reign of King Charles the First, he had fincerely return'd to his Duty under King Charles the Second. Few Men had done that Prince more confiderable Service than he, and none had been so zealous for restoring the Monarch, and the Mobarchy to their just Rights, which the Troubles of the

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last Reign had embolden'd the Parliament to invade The Project I have now mention'd is a Testimony of that Minister's Zeal for his Master; meer Spight, to fee it disappointed by that which he call'd Weakness in the King, made him change Sides at once, and from an en tirely devoted Subject he then was, on a sudden trans form'd him into a resolute Mutinier, and at last into Chief of the Conspirators. Two Things concurr'd to put him upon those Extreams. The one was, his de spairing of being able to do any thing to the purpose for a Prince he thought had not Resolution enough to cam on a confiderable Undertaking. He already complain that the King had forfaken him in an Affair wherein he had promis'd to stand by him, and wherein the Interest of the Crown was as much concern'd as in this we have Spokenof. The Election of Members to Succeed Sucha dy'd out of the House of Commons, had been for a long Time so order'd, that the Seditious Party always prevail'd; because that House had affum'd to it self the Au thority of iffuing the Writs. This was an Abuse brought in during the Troubles of the last Reign, and suffer'du continue after the Restoration, through the Weaknels or Ignorance of those who had been Chancellors before The ancient Custom was, that when any Shaftsbury. Member dy'd, the Chancellor iffu'd a Writ for electing of another. By this Means, notwithstanding the Will contain'd nothing that might obstruct the Liberty of the Election, yet the King had it in his Power at least w use Means for diverting the Choice from falling upon Persons that were against him. Shaftsbury had attempted to retrieve that Right, and brought it into use during the Intervals of Parliament; after obtaining the King's Promise, that he would stand firm to him, not withstanding all the Remonstrances he foresaw the Commons would doubtlefs make on that Account. They had not omitted it, but press'd so hard, that the King comply'd with them. Thus notwithstanding his Majesty's Promises, the Chancellor had the Mortification of seeing his Elections made void, and the old Abuse restor'd. From that Time he foretold, that the Liberty of Conscience would come to nothing, and freely declar'd, that in case it did, he would go over to the Parliament Party, and have no more regard for the Court. He was as good as his Word; his Mafter's Bufiness in condescend,

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ng as to the Elections lay at his Heart, when the reling of Liberty of Confcience put him quite out of tience, and made him fay openly, That a Man who fook himself deserv'd to be forsaken; a false Maxim, en the Sovereign is concern'd, or that Party that cant Lawfully be abandon'd. As turbulent a Person as aftsbury was, he had not perhaps carry'd his Malice fo , had there been no other Motive but the King's Inte-He that commits an Error to his own Disadvange is rather pity'd than hated; but the King's Condeinfion in Point of Liberty of Conscience, concern'd his inisters Personally, because his Majesty by that Means claiming the Advice they had given him, left them pos'd to the Parliament, and the Earl appearing to ve had a greater Share than any other in all that had endone at Court, he had Cause to fear the Parliament ght pitch upon him to make an Example of. sthe fecond Motive that put him upon fuch Extreams. may be faid, he defign'd the Zeal he would show for Protestant Religion, and for the Parliament, should piate for that he had made appear for the Catholick ligion and the Monarchy.

One Step advanc'd in Wickedness draws on another, His avicd one Passion rous'd up always excites many others. ked Ambiiger made Shafisbury ambitious of being the Author oftion, Revolution in the State, of changing the Government, d once more attempting to bring about the monstrous hange of Monarchy into a Republick.

Inorder to compais his Defigns, he thoughtit not pro- And Prar to begin by attacking the King, or Monarchy di- Hices. elly. The King was a Prince well Establish'd, and whom no Pretence could appear to make the People rlake him. As for Monarchy, they were too lately t out of the Troubles into which the Usurpers had ought the Nation, to propose banishing Kings again; enthose that were call'd Republicans for the most part ming only at the Authority, not at Kingly Governent. Shaftsbury perceiving he could not come at what e intended the direct Way, took a Compais, which he ought would bring him to the fame Place; and not ring able to depose the King, resolv'd to disinherit his uccessor, being convinc'd, that the best Method to deroy the Monarchy was to disturb the Order of the Sucffion. He thought the Duke of York's Religion would

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be an infallible Means to exclude him from the Crown, and question'd not but he might compass his Design by firing the zealous Protestants upon that Head, by incenfing the Parliament, and by rend'ring his Highness odious to the People. From that Time forward the Duke became the Object of all that wicked Man's Malice, and he was very near falling a Sacrifice to it. Such Audaciousness, such Artifices, and such Contrivances were practis'd against him, that it must be reck'ned an extraor. dinary Resolution which made him bear up so high a. bove that Persecution, and a great deal of Prudence to lurmount it.

He betrays

The Attack was fudden and unexpected. Never was the King. any great Change in so short a Time as Shaftsbury's upon this Occasion. No sooner did the King begin to incline to the re-calling of Liberty of Conscience, but that Minister had notice of it. He lost no Time; the Resolution was not taken till Eleven at Night, and the next Morning he appear'd in the House of Lords, whereof he was a Member, at the Head of the most zealous Peers against the Catholick Religion, the Wars with Holland, and the Alliance with France. This first Sally furpriz'd the Parliament as well as the Court, and caus'd The Diforan extraordinary Commotion every where. der was much height'ned, when the Earl discover'd the private Motives, that had induc'd the King to grant Liberty of Conscience, to enter into Alliance with France, and to declare War upon Holland. It is a Crime ina King of England to think of breaking those Fetters the Parliament puts upon him, and of confining that Affembly within the Bounds prescrib'd by the Laws, to which it draws back the Sovereign, if he happens to break out but never so little. The King was suspected to have fuch a Defign, and no question was made of it, after Shaftsbury had spoke; so that they were upon their Guard for the future to disappoint all that might advance that Project.

The Test Act.

Shaftsbury had too well dispos'd his Hearers for favouring his Defigns, to omit making use of that Conjun-Eture, and beginning to attack the Prince he intended to destroy. His Method was artful; it did not appear that they aim'd at the Duke of York, but at the Catholicks in general, against whom Shaftsbury invented a new Oath, the Parliament inserting it into an Act, which

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the King, tho' by Compulsion, and against his Inclination, pass'd into a Law. There were two Oaths before invented against Catholicks, to distinguish and persecute The One was the them when they should think fit. Oath of Allegiance, by which the Opinion of those who admit of any Power what loever to be above the King, is condemn'd as Heretical; the other was the Oath of Supremacy, by which the King is acknowledg'd Head of the Church in his Dominions. That I now speak of was call'd the Test; that is to say, a Trial or Testimony of the Religion a Man profes'd. By this Qath they were to abjure the real Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharift, and at the same time a Penal Law pass'd against all those that refus'd to take the Oath of Supremacy, and which excluded them from all Places of Truft, was extended to the Peers, who did not take that Oath, and were now oblig'd to the third. At this rate the King obtain'd 1350000 Pounds granted him by the Parliament for carrying on of the War.

Shaftsbury had foreseen that the Duke of York would be gravell'd by that new Oath, which he would not take, and against which he had not Time, or perhaps the Liberty of using any Precautions. So the Effect of the Test was, that the Duke did not command the Fleet the following Year 1673. Prince Rupert, who had join'd Prince with Shaftsbury to promote the Test, that he might be Rupert himself High Admiral of England, executed that Office, Admiral, and fought the Dutch, with whom neither the Parliament nor Shaftsbury thought it then time to oblige the King to make Peace. The Event of the Fight was dubious, and each Side claim'd the Advantage, without being able to shew any thing for it; but it is said, that this War being very costly, and coming to no Decision, gave the Parliament a plaufible Occasion to oblige the King to conclude a separate Peace with Holland, as was actually done on the 19th of February, 1674. yet fo as 1674. not to break with the first Allies, whatsoever the Par. Peace with liament could do to induce him to it.

It is very likely King Charles would not have been able to perfift in his Alliance with France, had not the most Christian King oblig'd his Enemies to accept of Peace, by the continual Success God was pleas'd to give him in that War. His Conquests in Holland, in the Year 1672, had drawn downall the Power of the House of

Holland,

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Austria upon him; the Empire and Spain were join'd in League with those Republicans against him. English thought such a League as that too favourable an Opportunity of invading France to be slighted. Conspiracy ran so high, that King Charles was oblig'd to arm, to recall all the Forces he had fent into France to serve that Crown, and to send others into Flanders to join those of the Allies: Thus, as much as in him lay, amuzing his Parliament with Preparations for a War he did not design to enter into; but which it was foreseen he would be at last compell'd to, in case the General Peace, which was then in Treaty, but met with many Difficulties, did not rid him of that Trouble. French King of France, by repeated Victories and fresh Con-Conquests. quests at length forc'd the Allies to accept of Peace, which he had long before offer'd, and they would not

consent to. Upon the first News of the Alliance, he had quitted feveral Placestoo remote to be eafily maintaind against such numerous Enemies; but he had made himfelfamends for the quitting of those Conquests, by the taking of so many Towns, much larger, stronger, and lying more advantageoutly for him, that the' left alone against so many Confederates, he was still able to prescribe Laws, to make them sue for Peace, and to affign the Conditions. Maestricht, Dinant, Limburgh, Valenciennes, Cambray, St. Omer, Ypnes, Ghent, Franche Comte a fecond time, for it had been the first time facrific'd to the publick Peace, were now added to the Conqueror's Dominions; whilst at the same time the Glory of his Arms receiv'd new Luftre from the Battels gain'd at & nef by the Prince of Conde, at Caffel by the Duke of Orleans, and at Zintzem and Incizem by the Mareschal & Turenne. Thefe great Advantages at length obligd that Monarch's Enemies to content to a Peace, which was concluded at Nimeguen on the 10th of August, 1678. by virtue whereof the Victor yielding up some of the conquer'd Places, acquir'd the peaceable Poffession of Valenciennes, St. Omer, Cambray, Ypres, and other Places in Flanders taken from the Spaniards, as also of all Franche Comte, another Limb torn from that Monarchy, which has for many Years been by falle Friends drawn into Wars, the whole Charge whereof falls upon it.

Peace of Nimeguen.

> Whilft his most Christian Majesty thus fortunately made use of his Time in Flanders, in the Execution of

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his Designs, Shaftsbury lost not his in England, where his 1674. Projects were broken by a long Contest he had with Shaftsbuthe Parliament,

That Earl had a Gang of People that adher'd to him, ry loses to whom he discover'd more or less of his Defigns, ac-ground. cording to the Confidence repos'd in them. Duke of Buckingham, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earl of Salisbury, and the Lord Wharton, were the prime Men of that Party; but whether thro' their Indiscretion. or thro' the ill Opinion all honest Men had conceiv'd of them, their Intentions came to be known abroad. The Earl of Danby, Lord high Treasurer by Clifford's laying down, and Prime Minister, the Duke of Ormond, and the Bishops, had propos'd a new Oath to be taken by all Members of Parliament, that they would not confent to alter the Government either in Church or State. The Oath had not yet pass'd, but so considerable a Part Committed of the Parliament opposing Shaftsbury's Designs, he be-to the thought himself, by reviving some old Laws of King Tower. Edward the Third, and King Richard the Second, which directed the Parliament to meet yearly, to pretend that the present Parliament having been 15 Months prorogu'd, was actually diffolv'd; at which that Assembly taking Offence, Shaftsbury and his Adherents were committed to the Tower. They continu'd a long time under Confinement, and were not discharg'd till some Months before the Conclusion of the Peace. From that time the Duke of Buckingbam feem'd to be somewhat out of conceit with the Intrigue. The Love of Pleasure, which was his prevailing Passion, intensibly drew off his Zeal from the Faction. He return'd not to the King's Party, but did little for the opposite Cabal; and being addicted to Raillery, he made sport of all the Errors committed by hot Heads, either through milguided Ambition, or want of Policy. Shaftsbury, whom different Passions put upon other fort of Thoughts, was more

aring to execute them. The Peace of Europe, which feem'd to have appeas'd Shaftsbuall Troubles, gave that reftless Spirit Occasion to heigh-ry's wicten the Commotions he had rais'd in his Country. That ked De-Peacefigns,

steddy and uniform in Wickedness. His Misfortune

had broken his Party's Measures; but still his Dexterity

kept it up, and tho' his Confinement had retarded the

Execution of his Defigns, it had not taken him off de-

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Peace was too advantageous to France not to grieve the English; and they thought their King, who had fuffer'd it to be concluded, maintain'd too good an Understand. ing with him that reap'd the Benefit of it, to be ex. cus'd from bearing his Part in their Displeasure. Shafes. bury was too well acquainted with the Art of improving Opportunities, to let flip one fo favourable for the bring. ing about of his Defigns. He had already began to flir up the Londoners. The Parliament, which had fate from January till April, and which meeting again in May, continu'd till the Conclusion of the Peace, had given him an Opportunity of gaining to himself Partifans, and particularly in the House of Commons. made fuch good use of that Time, and the Prorogation, which lasted from the End of August till the End of Offober, that he gain'd more Power over the Commons, and consequently over all the Parliament, than ever Cromwel had; the Zeal he pretended for the Protestant Religion fo far deceiving all the Sectaries, that in return they gave him the Title of the Protestant Earl. What. foever Followers he gain'd, his Confinement had made him more cautious than ever in disclosing his Design, even to those that adher'd to him; there were very few that knew all he intended to do, and were admitted into all the Plot, much as it happen'd under Cromwel; the rest were People he impos'd upon, but did it several Ways. Some he only acquainted with the general Defign he pretended to, of fecuring the establish'd Religion against the Machinations of the Catholicks, and the Liberties of the Nation against the King and his Ministers. Others he inform'd of the Measures he was beginning to take to prevent the Duke of York's fucceeding the King his Brother, because he was a Catholick; but at the same time he remov'd the Apprehensions they might conceive, of such another Change as that which had occation'd fo much Confusion under Oliver Cromwel; proposing to them a Protestant Successor, at the same time putting two feveral Persons in hopes of the Crown, to the end that several contending for it, might give Occasionat the time to grant it to none. The Prince of Orange is said to have been the first he flatter'd with it. Whether he prevented him, or was prevented, I cannot positively decide. Some are of opinion that the Prince had forefight enough to have that in view when

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he married the Princels Mary, eldest Daughter to the Duke of York; and that from the time he perceiv'd the Storm rifing against that Heir to the King of England, he had thought it his Right to make the best Advantage of his Shipwreck. The Duke of York had mistrusted it, and done all he could to obstruct that Match, which the King his Brother, being impos'd upon by the Earl of Danby and Sir William Temple, had concluded without his Privity. The Event has plainly show'd that the Duke saw farther than others; but being under Command, he could make no use of that Forefight for his own Preservation, whilst the wicked Shaftshury us'd all his Arts to destroy him. For whether he first put the Prince in hopes of the Crown, or whether the Prince thought of it before the Earl apply'd to him, it is look'd upon as most certain, that they combin'd strictly in that Matter, and that one du Moulin, a Hugonot, transacted the Affair between them. It is farther added, that the Duke of Monmouth, who was then in Flanders, had ingag'd to serve the Dutch Prince in that Defign. If so, he kept not his Word with him. No fooner did the Duke of Monmouth return into England, but he fuffer'd himself in his Turn to be flatter'd with the Hopes of a Crown, which the subtle Shaftsbury suggested, infinuating the Means for him to have himself declar'd the King's lawful Son.

The Earl expected the fitting of the Parliament to fet Oats's Plot all his Engines at work; but an Opportunity offer'd it ridiculous, felf fooner. Some fay he contriv'd it himfelf, and that the false Plot Oats pretended to discover about the Beginning of September, to destroy the Catholicks, was invented by Shaftsbury, who did it to involve the Duke of York and all the Royal Family in their Ruin. It is scarce credible, that a Man of Sense could be the Author of so ill concerted a Fable as that was; or that he could entertain to mean an Opinion of the Nation, as to think some would be so weak as to believe, and others so wicked as to make it a Pretence for that Persecution, which was the Death of lo many innocent Persons. But if the Earl of Shaftsbury was not the Father of that Chimera, however he knew how to make use of it, when he perceiv'd, that as absurd as it was, still it succeeded, and wrought powerfully on Mens Minds. Never was any more unlikely, or that carry'd along with it more

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evident Tokens of Falshood. All Europe is sensible, and of fully convinc'd of it at this time, that it would be impertinent to go about to refute that which no body be. lieves. Such an Accusation is it self an Apology for the Persons accus'd; and tho' the Inventors of it had not been convicted of palpable Contradictions, as appears by their Testimonies, which are undeniable against them, it must have dropt on account of the Character of the Authors, who were all obscure, mean, and infamous Persons, unworthy of any Credit, unless among fuch as were fit to carry on their Defigns, it must have overthrown it felf by the very Scheme that was laid, being the most extravagant, and in all Particulars the wildest that ever the World beheld. Those who defire to be better inform'd as to that Affair must read the A. pologies printed at that time for the English Catholicks. That which is in answer to the Libel call'd, The Politicks of the French Clergy, is writ by an Author, that cannot be suspected of being too well affected to many of those, whom the Power of Truth obliges him to defend. There it appears that Titus Oats, long before famous for being convicted of Perjury, after several other Adventures, turning Catholick, or pretending to to do, went away to a Seminary of the English Jesuits in the Low Countries; and being uneafy there, return'd into his own Country, and reassuming his old wicked Inclinations with his former Religion; accus'd all the Catholicks in England of being in a Plot against their King, and the Protestants in general, whom he prevended they had a Defign to defroy at once. The Pope, the Kings of France and Spain, the Duke of York, the Queen, and some of the most confiderable Lords, were all cast into the Conspiracy; but the General of the Jesuits was made the Ringleader. That Chief, they pretended, made fo fure of the Success of his wicked Project, that he had beforehand fent Commissions under his own Hand to the Heads of the Conspirators, for the prime Imployments in the Court, Army, and Civil Government. One was to the Lord Arundel to be Lord Chancellor, another to the Earl of Powis to be Treasurer; the Lords Bellasis and Petre were to command the Army, and Sir William Godolphin to be Privy Seal, and so of others. The Murder of the King, and Massacre of all the Protestants, was to be but an Hour's Work, so well were all Matters concerted;

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and if any should escape by Flight, or lying conceal'd, they were to be fought out, pursu'd, and cut off to a Man, by an Army of Two Hundred Thousand Men, partly rais'd in England, and partly brought in from beyond the Sea, all to be paid by the Pope, and encourag'd by a Plenary Indulgence to commit fo many Vil-

In any other Country, to use the very Words of the Dreadful Apologist above mention'd, they would have shut up Persecutithole Witnesles, as Madmen, that should offer to de-ons on acpole fuch ridiculous Fables; in England, they were be-count of it. liev'd, or which is worfe, they pretended to believe them; and what was it they did not thereupon? The Parliament meeting that same Year, 1678, that Bufiness was drove to the utmost, and so hotly puriu'd, that from that Time forward the Goals were full of Catholicks, charg'd with conspiring against the Life of a King, in Defence of whom they had so often expos'd their own. The Earls of Powis and Castlemain, the Vice Count Stafford, the Barons Petre, Arundel of Warder, and Bellasis, Coleman, Secretary to the Dutchess of York, Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's Physician, Langborn a Lawyer, Jeluits, Monks, Secular Priests, and Lay-men, were taken up at several Times. No Sex was ipar'd; the Countels of Powis partook of her Husband's Confinement; nor was it long before they began to shed Blood. Coleman was the first executed, without being convicted of any other Crime, but much Zeal for his Religion, which only added to that he had for his King; and was all that could be made of his Letters to some Foreigners, produc'd at his Tryal, as is observ'd by the Apologist, who might have added, that his double Zeal for his Religion and for his King render'd Coleman doubly Crimi. nal in the Eyes of the Parliament of England.

As 100n as Shaftsbury observ'd the first Commotions Shaftsbuoccasion'd by the Noise of the false Plot, he concluded ty imthat was a favourable Conjuncture to remove the Duke proves the of York. The Parliament was in a proper Disposition to Plot. pals Acts against the Catholicks; the Earl question'd not but with good Management he might bring some to pals that would exclude that Prince from the Succession to the Crown. He began by loading the Test with several Articles against the Mass, Purgatory, and the Invocation of Saints, which would increase the Horror

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they had already conceiv'd against that profane Oath. Not fatisfy'd with enlarging the Oath, he caus'd the Penal Laws to be extended to all such as would not take it; and it was enacted, that they should not only be excluded all Places of Truft, but also from the Parliament. and the Court, where none of them might appear, without a License under the Hands of Six Privy Counfellors, upon urgent Occasions, and even in that Case they should not be admitted above three times a Year at most, and every time might stay there but 10 Days. The Earls Defign was, that this Act should be in gene. ral Terms; but the Duke of York, who plainly per. ceiv'd it aim'd at him, oppos'd it so vigorously, that after hot Debates, he prevail'd, and was excepted. Thus was he neither excluded the Parliament, nor the Court by that Act, which was call'd the Great Teft, as he was from bearing Employments by the Leffer.

Long Par-Lament diffolo'd.

This Exception provok'd the Earl, and increas'd his Malice. He publickly declar'd, he valu'd not the Teft; yet his Anger made him not despair. Being disappoinred in this first Attempt, he prepar'd for another, where in, casting off the Mask, he engag'd his Partisans in the House of Commons to form a Project of Exclufion, to declare the Duke of York incapable of wearing the Crown; which the King understanding, he diffolv'd that call'd the Long Parliament, because it had lasted 18 Years.

Presbyteriment.

Another was appointed to meet in March, 1679. upan Parlia- on Hopes it might be compos'd of Members that would be better inclin'd to the Court ; but Shaftsbury had taken such Measures, that it was fill'd with Presbyterians, with whom he was closely united, as being naturally Enemies to Kingly Government, and the fiercest of the Protestants for extirpating of Catholicks.

Earl of Danby's Peliticks.

The very first Elections show'd what was to be expe-Eted from that great Number of inveterate Persons, that were to meet in Parliament, and all possible Care was taken that they might not poison the reft. Among the other Precautions us'd to that Purpole, the Earl of Danby advis'd the King to fend away the Duke of York, that fo the Parliament might have no Caufe to complain, that all proper Measures had not been taken to secure the Reformation against that Prince's Zeal. Danby was the cou the Pal the Co gai fen was mai ed Pre

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1679.

willing to please the Parliament, because they had taken Offence at him. He had receiv'd Money to disband Forces, which were still kept up. He had been for the Alliance with France, and that was enough to provoke them. He thought he might have amus'd them by encouraging the Villain Oats to bring the Catholicks upon the Stage; but that Artifice fail'd him. The former Parliament had commenc'd some Proceedings against the Earl of Danby, who had Cause to apprehend the Consequences of them in a new one, and therefore to gain the Favour of that Assembly he advis'd the King to fend away his Brother, the Duke of York. The Duke was too submissive to his Majesty to dispute his Commands; but at the same Time he was too well acquainted with Shaftsbury's Practices, not to take all necessary Precautions in his Obedience, that he might not put his Fortune wholly into the Power of his Enemies. He was inform'd, that all possible Means were us'd to make the Duke of Monmouth be thought Legitimate, and that they did not despair of having him declar'd such by the Parliament. He knew they were preparing to push on the Exclusion, and was not without Apprehension, lest they should represent his Retreat as the Flight of a Criminal, rather than the Obedience of a Dutiful Subject. Upon these Considerations, he concluded he could not in Prudence depart England, till the King had promis'd to declare he was never marry'd to the Duke of Monmouth's Mother; that he would never consent to the Exclusion propos'd, and lastly, to give him an Order The D. of under his Hand to remove. The King being well affe- York reded towards his Brother, made no Difficulty of grant-tires to ing those three Requests; whereupon the Duke cross'd Brussels. the Sea, and withdrew to Bruffels.

The Parliament which met soon after, took little Danby in. Notice of that Condescension of the King. The Severi-the Towty wherewith they proceeded against the Earl of Danby er. upon their first Sitting, gave his Majesty Occasion to guels how little Regard they would have for himfelf. Heomitted nothing that might conduce to lave his Minitter; condescending so low as to court the Commons in his Behalf, and at the same Time gave him a General Pardon for all Crimes he might have committed whilft Treasurer, against the Laws, or Customs of the Land-Both prov'd in vain; his Application was not regarded,

and the Legality of the Pardon be had granted was call'd in question. Danby was committed to the Tower, where a long Imprisonment seem'd to threaten the Ruin of his Fortune, and the Loss of his Head.

The King's The King was naturally of a yielding Disposition; he Difficulties wanted Money to relieve Tangier, then threat'ned by the Moors; he also wanted it for other Uses, not so neceffary, but which perhaps he no less laid to Heart; he thought he might get some of the Parliament by dint of Condescention, and consequently spar'd for nothing that might oblige them, stopping at nothing but the Articles of the Succession, which he was resolv'd should not be alter'd.

Unjust Proceed. ings.

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He began by feeming to give Credit to the Plot, which he had never believ'd, and at that Time less than ever. It must be own'd he carry'd on that Business too far, and counterfeited a Credulity which was made use of to the committing of much Injustice. The Catholicks fuffer'd very much. The Proceedings against them were fo far from any Moderation, that they were not even allow'd those outward Forms of Justice, which generally Men take care should attend the most corrupt Judgments. I know not by what Art Sir George Wakeman was clear'd, but they made sufficient amends for that small Quantity of Catholick Blood spar'd in that Man, by that of so many others as was spilt in abundance, and without any Mercy. Among those put to Death were Langhorn, the Lawyer, two Monks, and fix Jeluits, besides many others that perish'd through Hardships in Prisons, falling Sacrifices to the Protestants Hatred against the Catholick Church.

TheKing's froms.

The King bore with Reluctancy, that which he could Condescen-not obstruct without a Resolution above his natural Temper, and which he did not think could be fate at that Time. He was carry'd away with the Stream, and against his own Inclination put himself into the Hands of his Enemies, who oblig'd him to new-model his Council, and put into it most of the seditious Cabal, who only study'd how to Dethrone him. The Great Seal had been taken from Shaftsbury and given to Finch; and now in return that Rebel was made President of the Coun-By this it will be easy to judge of the rest. This rais'd the Hopes of that Earl's Faction, especially when the King had affur'd the Parliament, that he would in all

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things be advis'd by those new Counsellors, and in the weightiest Affairs would consult the two Houses.

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His Majesty went further yet; for being resolv'd that He offers no Innovation should be made in the Course of the Suc, to tie up cession, he embrac'd the Medium suggested to him by a the Hands new Faction, which was rather opposite to Shafesbury of bis Sucthan favourable to the Duke of York. The Marquis of ceffor. Halifax's Ambition, his Defire to rule, Envy to fee Shaftsbury carry all in the Parliament, and prefide in the King's Council, and perhaps some little good Inclination towards the publick Peace, had, as is believ'd by fome, mov'd him to propose this Method of Accommodation. Whencesoever the Expedient came, the King gave the Parliament this further Demonstration of his earnest Defire to content them. His Majesty coming to the House of Peers on the 10th of August, and having sent for the Commons, order'd the Chancellor to tell them, that being refolv'd not to confent to alter the Succession, on any Pretence what foever, he was willing to confent, that they should take all the necessary Precautions, that in case he should have a Catholick Successor, there might be nothing left for the Protestant Religion to fear, or the Catholick to hope; that he therefore thought fix they should pass an Act, that in case his Successor was a Catholick, he should not have the Collation of Benefices, nor chuse his own Privy Council, nor appoint Judges, nor dispose of the Admiralty, nor the Governments of Provinces: That if there should happen to be a Parliament in being at the time of his Death, it should not be in the Power of his Catholick Successor to difsolve it, till a certain Time appointed; that if there were none then in being, the last which had been before hould meer without any Summons; and in short, that they thould them felves confider of any other fafer, eafier,

These Advances of a Great Monarch towards giving The Englis Subjects Satisfaction, very well deserved that they lish not to should at least abstain from giving him any further Probe gain'd rocation; but Condescensions from the Kings of Eng. by Faland rarely obtain them any suitable Returns. King wours, Henry the 8th's stern Behaviour always met with a Blind Obedience, whereas hitherto the Goodness of the Stu-

and more effectual Means to secure the Protestant Reli-

gion against the Defigns of a Catholick King, and he

would readily concur with them.

arts

arts has met with nothing but Contradiction. These Offers of his Majesty, so advantageous to the Protestants, tho' they procur'd him their Thanks, yet purchas'd no Returns of Gratitude. Very few Days pass'd before the House of Commons read the Bill so long since contriv'd by Shaftsbury and his Party, for excluding of the Duke of York from the Succession. History ought to preserve the Memory of some Insolencies, that Poflerity may shun them, rather than bring them as Exam. ples for Imitation. The Contents of the Act were to this Effect.

The Bill of

It suppos'd by way of Preamble, that Providence had Exclusion. deliver'd England and Ireland from the Slavery and Superstition of Popery, which by its dangerous Opinions had overturn'd the very Foundations of Christian Religion, and by dispensing with the Loyalty due from Subjects to their Kings, depriv'd Monarchs of the Authority God had given them over their Subjects. Next it was urg'd as Matter of Fact, that notwithstanding the Laws of the Nation, which had suppress'd the said Popery on account of its pernicious Principles, and wicked Attempts against the Lives of Sovereigns, the Emissaries of Rome had of late Years by their Artifices and Intrigues, with the Advice and Affistance of several foreign Princes and Prelates, contriv'd a Plot to murder the King, to alter the Government, to extirpate the Reformation, and to massacre all the Protestants. Then they proceeded to affirm, that the better to execute their Defign, and encourage the Miscreants that had undertaken it, the Catholicks had seduc d James Duke of York, the prelumptive Heir of the Crown, whom they had drawn over to their Communion, and prevail'd with to enter into several Negotiations with the Pope, and with his Ministers, for advancing of the Roman Religion, and tor the better supporting of it, and carrying on of their Defign, they had, to the great Danger of the State, ask'd the Assistance of the King of France. They took it for granted, that the Conversion of the Duke of York had given Occasion to the Plot they had discover'd. Upon these Motives, said they, the Parliament having never had such powerful and preffing Reasons to make an extraordinary Use of their Legal Power, did enact by the King's Authority, and with the Advice of the Lords and Commons, 1. That James Duke of York, Al-

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bany and Uffer, should be incapable of inheriting the Crowns of England and Ireland, with their Dependances, and of enjoying any of the Titles, Rights, Prerogatives and Revenues belonging to the faid Crowns. 2. That in case his Majesty should happen to die, or to refign his Dominions, they should devolve to the Perfon next in Succession, in the same manner as if the Duke were dead. 3. That all Acts of Sovereignty and Royalty that Prince might then happen to perform, were not only declar'd void, but to be High Treason, and punishable as such. 4. That if any one, at any Time whatfoever, should endeavour to bring the faid Duke into either of the two Kingdoms, or their Dependances, or should correspond with him in order to make him Heir, or to have him proclaim'd King, he should be look'd upon as guilty of High Treason, and an Enemy to the Nation. 5. That if the Duke himself ever return'd into any of the Dependances of the Monarchy, confidering the Troubles that must ensue, he should be himself look'd upon as guilty of the same Offence, and all Persons were authoriz'd and requir'd to seize upon and imprison him, and in case of Resistance made by him, his Followers or Adherents, to subdue them by Force of Arms.

Such was the monstrous Bill for excluding the Duke Parliaof York from the Succession. The King was amaz'd ment prowhen he heard that the Commons had proceeded so far. rogu'd and
He us'd all Arts to put them upon other Business, pres-dissolv'd.
sing them upon the urgent Necessities of the Nation;
but all to no purpose, the more he endeavour'd to quell
it, the more their Rage advanc'd. The Bill was read
a second Time, and they were proceeding to a third,
in order to send it up to the Lords, had not the King
prorogu'd the Parliament. That Prorogation was carry'd
on till February, 1680. when that Parliament was dis-

folv'd to make room for another.

The Interval between them was confiderable enough The Factito give Hopes at some Times, that the Minds of Men, on prevagrown weary of so many needless Commotions, would lent.
at length settle in Peace. But these Hopes prov'd vain;
what Appearance there was of a Calm being the Effect
of the Duke of York's Enemies Presumption, who being
of the Privy Council at the same Time that he was remote from the Court, thought themselves Masters of

the Field, and took such Measures for carrying the Exclusion, as they thought could not fail them.

The unexpected Return of that Prince however broke of York in those Measures, and the Consequences of it much more. Scotland. He came over upon the News of the King's being fick,

and was with him before any Man thought he was to come. The King himself was surpriz'd at it, and afraid his Presence might disturb that false Peace that had flatter'd the Nation for some Time. The Duke's Affection, and the Affurances he gave that he would go back, satisfy'd his Majesty, and confirm'd him in his Resolution of maintaining the due Course of Succession against all the Attempts of the Sectaries; and soon after he gave plain Demonstration of his Resolution. He suffer'd the Duke of York to go back, but being inform'd that the Duke of Monmouth was admitted into the factious Cabal, he remov'd, and fent him away into Holland, Then confidering that the Duke of York's Refidence ina foreign Country look'd somewhat like Banishment, he recall'd and fent him into Scotland, under Colour of fettling Affairs there, the most essential part whereof was to gain him the Affections of that Nation, and fecure it to his Interest. The Duke of Monmouth thereupon returning to Court, without having been recall'd, his Majesty, who look'd upon it as if he intended to stand in Competition with the lawful Heir, command-

Returns toed him to return. Monmouth refusing to obey, upon Court. pretence that being under an Accusation, he ought either to be punish'd or clear'd, the King disgrac'd him, took away all his Places, and to compleat his Mortifica-

tion, recall'd the Duke of York to Court.

Monmouth Sets up against bim.

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This put the opposite Faction into a Rage. The Lord Russel, the Earl of Essex, and the Lord Cavendish defir'd to be discharg'd their Attendance at the Council Board, and yielded up their Places to others. Soon after the Earl of Radnor succeeded Shaftsbury in that of Prefident. The Duke of Monmouth's Adherents reviv'd the Pretences of his Mother's Marriage; feveral Papers were ipread abroad to prove the King had been marry'd to her, and Libels made to perswade the People to it. Shaftsbury gave Information of a new Conspiracy of the Catholicks in Ireland, upon which Account Plunket Archbishop of Armagh, and the Earl of Tyrone, were secur'd, besides many others. Soon after Shaftsbury

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1680.

presented a Petition, fign'd by several Lords, wherein representing the Duke of York as a Catholick, he magnify'd the Danger the Nation and Protestant Religion was in, from the Hopes the Catholicks had conceiv'd of seeing him on the Throne. The King was continually pester'd with other seditions Petitions, pressing him to call a Parliament, under colour of the Dangers that threaten'd the Kingdom from the Catholicks.

The Duke of York's Enemies never deny'd him the The Duke Honour of having seen all those Storms rise, with anof York Undauntedness becoming a Prince; and those who had undaunted any Familiarity with him, still declare, how much those Persecutions contributed towards making him a persect Christian and Catholick. The Greatness of his Birth inspir'd him to affert his Right to the Crown with such Resolution, as amaz'd his Enemies; and his Constancy in Religion made him so much despise, as to run the Hazard of it, in case his Enemies should happen to

prevail.

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The King was not wanting to back his Brother's Courage, by his Resolution to keep him at Court, notwithstanding the Malice of the Protestants and factious Party; by his frequent Declarations in Council, which he caus'd to be recorded in all proper Courts, that he was never marry'd to the Duke of Monmouth's Mother, and by many long Prorogations of the Parliament, tho' often petition'd to suffer it to fit. Could he have quite Tangier obstructed its Meeting, he had sooner prevail'd; but the besieg'd. Siege the Moors had laid to Tangier, which had occafion'd the late Parliaments, was began again, after a Truce of some Months, not without Danger of that Place's falling into the Hands of those Infidels. His Majesty being in great want of Money to relieve it, relolv'd at last to convene the Parliament, after so many Prorogations.

The Duke of York prepar'd to maintain his Birth-right The D. of in that Assembly, with fresh Vigour, when the Marquis York reof Halifax and the Earl of Sunderland came to him from turns to the King, to desire he would again absent himself for a Scotland. while, and return into Scotland, during the Session of the Parliament. This Request startled the Duke, who looking on it as the Effect of his Enemies Arts, that they might be the bolder in his Absence, as they had been before, express'd some Unwillingness to remove

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The History of the Revolutions in England, 260

again. He acquainted the King with it; but his Majesty and his Ministers fo fully convinc'd him of the Advantage of that Defign to the Publick, and so solemnly promis'd never to consent to his Exclusion, that he once more fet out for Edinburgh with his Family.

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Parlia-

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The different Condition of that Prince's Affairs, at the same Time, in the two Kingdoms, was very re-In Scotland he was belov'd, respected by the Nobility, and admir'd by the Commonalty; his Presence set all Things in order, and his Authority was fo great, that never any King had more. There had been some Troubles, occasion'd by Phanatick Presby. terians, against whom the Duke of Monmouth had been fent, and dispers'd the Rebels; but they had again of late rais'd some Commotions, the Consequences whereof were apprehended. The Duke of York's Vigilancy prevented them, and basing some few Vagabonds, who could never make Head, all was peaceable in the Kingdom during his Abode there. The Scots were fo grateful, that they writ a Letter to the King, wherein after giving him Thanks for having fent his Royal Highness into Scotland, coming to the Point of the Succesfion, they abhor'd the seditious Practices of the Faction in England.

Thus Providence temper'd that Prince's Life with Variety of Events, to inure him to undergo Prosperity and Adverfity for those Ends God has defign'd; if not for the Conversion of his People, which is still retarded by their Sins; yet at least for his own Salvation. Whilst in Scotland he daily receiv'd fresh Testimonies mentpushes of that People's Esteem, in England they persecuted him on the Ex- with more Fury than ever. None of the former Parliaments had express'd so much Ill-will and Malice towards

him, as this which met on the 31st of October, 1680. Shaftsbury there push'd on his Designs in a fearful manner, the Duke of Monmouth carry'd on his own; the Prince of Orange's Adherents forgot not to promote his Interest, and the Protestant Cabal, wherein the Presbyterians prevail'd, us'd fuch Means for excluding the Catholick Heir from the Throne, that it was generally

believ'd they would carry it.

The King open'd the new Parliament as he had done The King's the former, exhorting them, in hopes of gaining the Speech. good Opinion of the Sechries, to discover the Bottom fty

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of a Plot he believ'd not himself; to put the Laws in 1680. Execution against Catholicks; to find Means to secure the Protestant Religion against their Designs; and at the same Time to think of securing Tangier, and of giving him a Supply for that and other pressing Wants he did not mention.

The Parliament was hotter upon the first Article of Lord Stafhis Speech than he had wish'd; the Persecution against ford be-Catholicks was fiercely renew'd, and at this Time Wil-beaded. liam Howard, Lord Vicecount Stafford, offer'd up his Noble Blood, often ally'd to that of Kings, in Testimony of the Truth of his Faith, That Lord by his Resolution made it appear, that the Protestants had mistaken their Choice of him for an Example of Weakness.

These Rigors against Catholicks, were always the Commons Preparatives of the Faction towards some fresh Effort obfinate to exclude the Rightful Heir from the Crown, giving for the Exhim out to be at least the Occasion of the fabulous clusion. Plots their Malice invented. So that how urgent for ever the Necessities of the Monarchy were, and whatfoever Care the King took to inculcate them to the Parliament, the House of Commons still answer'd, That the first Thing to be done was to secure their Religion, his Majesty's Person, and the Laws, against the Defigns of the Papifts; that they would give no Money, either for Tangier, or the Fleet, till some Way were agreed on to deliver all true Protestants and Englishmen from their just Fears; and that there was but one that could fecure the Nation from the Evils which threaten'd it, and was the excluding of the Duke of Youk from the Succession to the Crown, and depriving the Catholicks of the Hopes of ever feeing him on the Throne; without which whatfoever were contriv'd, or Precautions taken, there could be no Safety, either for Religion, or the Peace of the Kingdom.

Nor did they stop there; the Bill of Exclusion was The Lords trump'd up again; it was read three Times in the reject it. House of Commons, pass'd by a Plurality of Votes, and sent up to the Lords, where of 66 Peers, 30 were for it, and 36 rejected it, so that it was thrown out: The Lord Russel, Son to the Earl of Bedford, who had earry'd it up, with Capel and Montague, grew so hot upon this Disappointment, as to say, That if his Father

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had been one of those that refus'd to pass the Bill, he would have been the first Man that should impeach him of High Treason, Words very agreeable to a Phanatick Zeal; we shall foon see the Consequences of them.

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Furious Proceed-

The Disappointment given by the Lords did not difcourage the Faction. Being fully perswaded, that most ings of the of those Peers who had rejected the Bill did it only to please the King, they apply'd themselves to prevail up. on his Majesty's Resolution either by fair Means, or by Force. They made use of Women to gain him over, having corrupted them with great Sums of Money; which they look'd upon as an infallible double Contrivance to succeed. One of them cast herself at the King's Feet, to beg he would consent to exclude his Brother. This was making a dangerous Trial of brotherly Affection, upon a Prince so weak in that Particular as he was; however, he withstood it, and thereby show'd that nothing could shake his Resolution. In order to use Force where Perswasions would not prevail, they would next have oblig'd him to turn out of his Council, the Marquifes of Halifax and Worcester, and the Earls of Clarendon, Feversbam and Rochester, as pernicious Counsellors, who confirm'd him in those Sentiments they reckon'd contrary to the publick Good. Next, to bring him under a Necessity of continuing the Parliament, and make him wholly depend upon it, they endeavour'd to stop up all the Channels through which any Money could flow in to him, declaring all those Enemies to the fitting of the Parliaments, who should advance the King any Money upon any of the Branches of his Revenue, or take any of them in Payment.

The Comprebension Project.

Those hot Votes were not the most dangerous Engines they let at work to compel the Monarch to alter his Resolution; Shaftsbury found out another, the more likely to produce the intended Effect, as being the Product of a more refined and fecret Policy. He had not forgot that formerly, in order to bring the Nonconformists into the same Interest with the Catholicks, he had advis'd to grant Liberty of Conscience to them all in general; now making use of the same Artifice, that all Protestants might find it their Interest to destroy the Catholicks, and so the Duke of York's Exclusion from the Crown might be brought about, he projected an Union among he

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among all the Nonconformist Sectaries, and the Church 1680. of England; and to bring it about, he put the House of Commons upon pressing the King to repeal all the Laws made by Queen Elizabeth against them. His Majesty perceiv'd what that tended to, and making a true Judgment upon the Occasion of that Demand, The Parfirst prorogu'd, and afterwards dissolv'd the Parlia-liament ment.

The Faction us'd all their Endeavours to fend off that unlucky Blow, which broke all their Measures; but without Success. The King having declar'd in Council his Resolution to dissolve the Parliament, the Earl of Salisbury spoke hotly to disswade him. His Majesty made him no other Answer, but that he ask'd no Advice, and only made known his Will; whereupon that Earl asking his leave to withdraw from the Council Board, the King easily granted it, and a few Days after turn'd out himself, the Earls of Essex and Sunderland, Sir William Temple, and some others, who had been openess in declaring for the Exclusion of the Duke of York. Sunderland at the same Time had Orders to quit the Secretaries Office.

The Faction was doubly griev'd, when on the 28th of 1681.

January, 1681. his Majesty having distolv'd the Parlia-Essex's Pement, appointed another to meet at Oxford on the 31st tition reof March. The Earl of Essex presented him a Petition jetted. at Whitehall, sign'd by 16 Lords, desiring he would not change the usual Place for Parliaments to meet; but the King held his own, and said, he had advis'd with above 30, who were of another Opinion.

His Majesty had pitch'd upon Oxford as a Place where Infolences he could be Superior, and Formidable to the Faction; of the Oxbut he did not reslect, that the Faction must be as sen-ford Parsible of that as himself, and would use such Precautions as liament. might secure them in being as Refractory as they were at Westminster. They went farther still; and contriv'd to seize, and oblige him to pass all they should demand. He was fortunately inform'd of st, and caus'd some Troops privately to be quarter'd about Oxford, to serve him in Time of Need. Whether they knew it or not, or whether they thought themselves strong enough to oppose the King's Forces, they hotly went on in their Enterprize, and the Heads of them came to Oxford with such numerous Trains of well-arm'd and resolute Men,

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that they appear'd there in a more audacious Manner than they had done at London. Shaftsbury and Salisbury came with fuch a Retinue, as look'd more like a Brigade going upon some Expedition; the Duke of Monmouth was attended by 100 Horse, well equipp'd, and in good Order; the rest were all attended suitable to the Figure they made in the Country and their Party. They had agreed at a certain Time, by way of Distinction, to wear in their Hats, or on their Swords, blue Ribbands, with these Words wove in them, No Popery, no Slavery; being refolv'd at first to proceed in Form, and to try to prevail by Perswasion, before they came to open Violence. The House of Commons was made up of the same fort of Persons as the last, and most of them were the very fame. The Presbyterians still prevail'd, and Shaftsbury was their Chief. This was foon The Parliament being open'd after the discover'd. usual Manner, the Speeches made, and the Speaker chofen, all the seditious Matters were again brought upon the Stage, and chiefly those relating to the Exclusion; fo that his Majesty, by their way of falling on, perceiv'd the Boldness of the Faction was so far from abating, that it was now grown up to the Height. Having therefore concerted his Measures, without acquainting any but a very few of his Confidents, he refolv'd to put a Period to all those Intrigues, which grew daily more dangerous, by putting an End to Parliaments, which, instead of supporting him, were pernicious to his Authority and Government. This Parliament had not fat above 8 Days, before the King came to it in his Robes, fo unexpectedly that none of the Faction could guels at his Meaning, where with a compos'd Countenance, as became what he had in Hand, he said, Your Manner of Proceeding these first Days, does not encourage me to hope any better Issue of this Parliament, than I have had of fo many others I have call'd, without reaping any other Advantage, than discovering the evil Designs of those that are for raising Troubles in the Kingdom; and therefore, to the End they may not give a Sanction to Rebellion with the Name of a Parliament, I have thought fit to dissolve this. No fooner were these Words spoken, than leaving the House, and soon after the Town, he went to lye that Night at Windsor, and the next Day return'd to London, before the Faction, aftonish'd at a

They are diffolv'd.

Blow that broke all their Measures, could recover

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This resolute Action, so wisely manag'd, sav'd the TheKing's Monarchy. His Majesty's Eyes being open'd at last, he Views. concluded some Effort must be made, to supply for some Time the urgent Necessities of the Kingdom, by some other way than Parliamentary Supplies, that he might not be oblig'd in hafte to call another, which he could no better manage than he had done the others before, and might perhaps be expos'd to greater Dangers; for he could expect no better from those Assemblies, which were always govern'd by the Faction, and compos'd of Persons debauch'd to favour their Designs; and therefore he must put them out of the Possession they were in of disposing of Elections to their own Mind, remove the Magistrates on whom they depended, and reform many enormous Abuses, which under Colour of maintaining the Peoples Liberties, made them infrumental to overthrow the Regal Authority; and as foon as there should be no more Parliaments to authorize seditious Attempts, the Factions would begin to fear, and vanish insensibly, tho' it were only for the Trouble of keeping them up; that if the worst happen'd, they being able to hurt him no other Way but by those Strokes against which none but Providence can secure kings, there was nothing more to fear, but those Dangers which are common to all Men, and against which Princes are better fecur'd than others; that the People would have Leisure to recover from the ill grounded Apprehension they had been put into of arbitrary Power; of a Government contrary to Law, of a violent Change of Religion, and the chimerical Attempts alcrib'd to the Catholicks for anticipating the Duke of York's Reign, and which had no other Basis but the hypocritical Zeal of those, who under Colour of Religion defign'd to overthrow the Monarchy, by breaking in upon the Course of the Succession, which is its main Foundation; that the Minds of Men thus fettling, as they were undeceiv'd, Reason, the Love of Peace, the Publick Good, and their own private Interest, would bring them to their Duty, to Submission, and Order; that Parliaments then call'd according to Law and ancient

Ulage, would be serviceable both to the People and the

Prince; without pretending to be imperious Sovereigns,

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as they had done; but contented to be what they really 1681. were, respectful Mediators between the King and his Subjects.

The King's Declara-

tion.

These were his Majesty's Thoughts, and the Event show'd him to be in the right. No sooner did it appear that he was resolv'd to proceed without a Parliament, but he became absolute, and the four last Years of his Life may be most properly call'd those of his Reign. He first made his Intentions known by a wellpenn'd Declaration, wherein, after giving the World an Account of the Reasons that had indue'd him to dissolve the late Parliaments, whose irregular Proceedings only tended to disturb the Nation; he fignify'd he would frequently call others, at the same Time infinuating, without explaining himfelf, that he should not summon any very foon. Every Body understood him, and all Men concluding that he was like to carry his Point, there was not a Corporation, not a County, nor a Body Politick, but what press'd forward to return him Thanks for his Care of the publick Peace; the very Watermen on the Thames prefented him an Address, fign'd by

Addresses. 1682.

2000 of them, to express their Loyalty. Sir Patience Ward, Lord Mayor of London, and Sheriff Cornils, both famous for Sedition, still gave him some Trouble, the City being govern'd by those factious Magistrates; but his Majesty soon manag'd them; and when their Time was out caus'd others that were submissive to him to be substituted in their Places. The same he did in the Courts of Judice, where the unjust Judges, who had condemn'd fo many innocent Persons, only to please their Enemies, were remov'd. Nor did he stop there; the Disorders in the late Parliaments originally proceeding from the Abules Corporations committed for want of understanding their Charters, which they made use of in chusing such Members of the House of Parliament as were agreeable to the Factions that govern'd them, Quo War the King iffu'd out Quo Warrantg's against them. This

santo's. is a Right the King has of examining those Abuses, and taking away the Charters of Privileges of those Places that have made ill Use of them. The Corporations are

allow'd to stand Trial; that of London was long depending, but at last given for the King: The Charter of that Metropolis was furrender'd, and his Majesty gave

them a new one, by which he fecur'd to himfelf the

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1682.

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Choice of the Mayor and Aldermen, and consequently of the Elections of Parliament Men. Many other Towns had the same Fate; some refign'd up their Charters, without contending, and had others granted them, as he thought convenient.

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He went farther yet. The Presbyterians had for a Diffenters long Time been the Upholders of all Factions, if not profecuted. the Ringleaders. His Majesty undertook to reduce them, and that the Methods us'd might be liable to no Exception, reviv'd the Laws made by Queen Elizabeth against Nonconformists, and took Care they should be exactly put in Execution. Some Opposition was made; every now and then Information was given, that they af sembled together, in contradiction to the Laws and Magistrates, but they were so closely observ'd, and the King fo well ferv'd, that those Conventicles were dispers'd without interrupting the publick Peace.

·His Majesty still advancing as his Authority pre-The Forces vail'd, he proceeded fo far as to raise some Forces. The regulated Number of them was not very great, but he took care to have those few so well disciplin'd, that they were sufficient to strike a Terror. One of the Means that contributed most towards that Regulation was the Regimenting of them, as confishing before, for the most part, especially in Ireland, of independent Companies, which had no Subordination. The demolishing of Tangier, which he abandon'd, after a Treaty, to fave the Nation a Charge, that yielded little Return, reinforc'd his little Army with the Garrison of that Place.

The Thing he proceeded in flowest, and wherein he plunket feem'd still to hold on his former Course, was the Neg-executed, lect of doing Justice to the Catholicks, to wrongfully oppress'd by the late Parliaments. Some Blood was fill spilt. Archbishop Plunket was put to Death upon the talfe Imputations of the Enemies of his Religion; but he was the last. His Majesty suffer'd the Judges to act in that Particular, without interposing, and there the Persecution ended. It may truly be said, that those Persons the Protestants had made use of to raile it against the Catholicks, destroy'd one another, without any Help from others. Those Witnesses, brib'd by the Faction to ruin fo many innocent Men, convicted one another of so much Falshood, so much Perjury, and

The History of the Revolutions in England. 268

fuch horrid Slander, that all Men were forc'd to be-1682. lieve them whether they would or no, and the Judges, 1683. tho Protestants, to do Justice. Fitz-Harris, Colledge, 1684. and fuch like Monsters, ended their Lives by the Hands Fitz-Har- of the Executioner. Oats, tho' the greatest Villain of them all, found Favour enough to be only confin'd;

Colledge, but God referv'd him for another Punishment, which any other Man had dreaded more than Death, being condemn'd in the next Reign to fland in the Pillory four

Times a Year, and so expos'd to the View of the World. as a notable Instance of the Misery a long Habit of Wickedness brings a Man to. The Punishment of those Miscreants made way for the discharging of those Catholick Lords the Parliament had committed to the Tower. Yet they proceeded very cautiously in that Particular,

the Judges being loath to interfere where the Parliament had been concern'd. The Earl of Castlemain, twice the Tower clear'd and committed to the Tower, yet taken up again discharged upon fresh false Depositions, having made his Escape,

> had at last left the Kingdom; the others were difcharg'd with the Earl of Danby, a little before the End of the Reign; his Majesty still affecting to appear zea-

lous for the Religion of the Country.

ver of the Plot.

The Shame of those Crimes which had dishonourd ry Contri- the English Nation, did not fall altogether upon mean Wretches; he who had been the principal Author of all began to be look'd after, upon the Testimony of those very Persons he had employ'd to commit those Enormi-The Earl of Shaftshury was charg'd by them with fuborning of Witnesses against the Earl of Stafford, the Duke of York, and the Queen, as being concern'd in the pretended Popish Plot against the King; and their Depositions imported, that he had himself conspir'd against his Majesty, in order to seize his Person, and oblige him to consent to all that his Faction should demand. Upon this Evidence, which was not fo certain a Proof of his Offence as his Behaviour had been, he was committed to

the Tower, with the Lord Howard of Escrick his Complet-They were brought off by the Contrivance of Ignoramus Jury, their Party, who pack'd a Jury, all chosen by a Sheriff of the Faction, and they clear'd them. His Majesty, befides the Mortification of seeing the mortal Enemy of the Royal Family thus escape the Punishment he deferv'd, had that of hearing the Acclamations of the Pee-

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ple, which made London ring, upon the acquitting of that Man, they were fond of, for bearing the Name of the Protestant Earl. This Disgust was sweetned by two Advantages the King gain'd by it; the one was the forwarding the Success of the Quo Warranto, the corrupt Verdicts of Juries being one Consequence of the Abuse of the Cities Liberties, and the Right the Sheriffs claim'd of returning them; the other, that the feditious Project propos'd to the House of Commons in one of the last Parliaments for a general Affociation of all Protestants throughout the Kingdom, to favour the Defigns of Shaftsbury's Party, being found among that

Earl's Papers seiz'd, when he was himself secur'd, all

England disclaim'd that factious Affociation, and all Corporations again address'd the King, to express their

Abhorrence of it. Whilst his Majesty was retrieving the Regal Autho- Rebels rity in England, the Duke of York upheld it in Scotland, routed in with fuch Vigour and Wisdom, as disappointed the De-Scotland. figns of his Enemies. He there subdu'd the Fanaticks. One Caryl having gather'd a Number confiderable enough to appear in Arms, and compose a Body, with some others, calling themselves Sweet Singers of Israel, the Duke sent some Forces, who pursu'd and routed them on the Mountains, whither they were withdrawn; their Ringleader was taken, and executed as a Rebel. His Highness took a Journey to London, which had like to have cost the Nation dear; for the King sending him back to hold the Parliament, he narrowly escap'd being The Duke's cast away with the Vessel that carry'd him. Sir ____ Escape at Hyde, Brother to the first Dutchess of York, and many Sea. more, were drown'd. The Captain was try'd, that Misfortune being occasion'd by his Positiveness, and

he was banish'd. That Danger redoubled the Affection of the Scots to-Parliawards the Duke, and there is no expressing how they ment of endeavour'd to testify it at his Landing. His Behaviour Scotland, in the Parliament, which met foon after, more closely link'd them to him. He there maintain'd the Regal Authority with as much Dignity as became the Heir of it; and it may be truly faid, that no King of Scotland ever carry'd it higher; and yet he manag'd it so dexteroufly, as to meet with no Opposition, but what was necessary for the strengthening of that he was about to

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1682. 1683.

1684.

Argyle

establish. The Lord Belhaven made some Objection to the Means the Duke propos'd for fecuring the Religion of the Country, which that Nobleman did not think He was committed, and had been brought to a Trial, but that a speedy Repentance made his Of fence be thought pardonable. The Earl of Argyle from outlaw'd, that time began the Rebellion, which brought him into fo many Mistortunes, by refusing to fign the Scots Test, the Presbyterian Fanaticks of his Party being averse to The Parliament feiz'd him, and he having made his Escape, proceeded to outlaw and condemn him. Another fort of Protestants making a difficulty of that Oath, as containing an ancient Profession of Faith of King James, which did not fuit with theirs, the Duke reconcil'd that Difference by an Exposition of it, which satisfied fy'd them all. The Acts pass'd by that Parliament were advantageous both to the King and his Subjects. A confiderable Subfidy was granted him during his Life, and for five Years after to his Successor. The Succession was declar'd to belong of Right to the Duke of York, and not transferable to any other on any Pretence what-Laws were enacted for regulating of Trade, and for the Peace of Families, which have been approved by their good Consequences. After the Recess of the Parliament, the Duke being inform'd that fill some Bodies of Fanaticks were feen at times, he order'd them to be chas'd and dispers'd; then having visited Sterlin, Dunbarton, and some other Places, he was recall'd by the King, who thought his Presence conducing to their common Interest.

His Highness found a confiderable Change in Affairs; being receiv'd in all Places, not only with Respect, but with many Expressions of Joy. Addresses were preagainst the sented to the King, abhorring the Exclusion, and the Exclusion. two Universities solemnly declar'd, that his Highness's Religion was no legal Caufe to break in upon the Order of Succession.

Faction declines.

All things feem'd to promife a lasting Peace to those Princes, who fo fuccessfully strove to give it to the People. Many of their Enemies had deferted the Faction; some of the powerfullest were dead, as the Earl of Salifbury in England, and the Earl of Manchester in France; and the Ringleader of all, the Famous Earl of Shaftsbury, being fled into Holland, had ended his Days there. The King

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Under the Family of the Stuarts, &c.

1682. 1682. 1684.

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King and the Duke thought themselves at Peace, and pleafantly enjoy'd the Fruits of their good Conduct, when they perceiv'd, that the wifest Management in the World cannot deliver even Kings from the Dangers that are common to all Men, unless God watches over

them; and interpoles.

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Shaftsbury's Crimes did not end with his Days ; but Queen were continu'd after his Death, with the Addition of Elizanew ones. Ever fince the Oxford Parliament, where beth's their Defign was to feize the King, and compel him to Birth-day. pals the Exclusion of his Brother, they had continu'd that traiterous Resolution, and observ'dall Opportunities of putting it in Execution. On the annual Festival in memory of Queen Elizabeth, Shaftsbury had propos'd to the Duke of Monmouth, whom he had ingag'd in his wicked Defigns, still flattering him with the Hopes of a Crown, to embrace that Opportunity, and go attack Whitehall. This he concluded would be an easy Matter, because they should be follow'd by the Multitude gather'd together, and in a Commotion upon that Rejoicing. The very Nature of the Festival seem'd proper to put them into that Humour, if it were but never fo flightly infinuated to them, that they were going upon an Enterprize to fecure the Religion of Queen Elizabeth, whose Memory they were then honouring. As brave as the Duke was, he thought that a rash Undertaking. He told the Earl, that the King was in a good Posture Shaftsbuof Defence, that he had Guards and other Men of Ho-1y's despenour about him, who would never before'd by a Rabble rate Dearm'd after a tumultuous manner; and if they fail'd in signs. that Undertaking, there was no Way to get off; befides, that to venture upon such Enterprizes on Uncertainties, was running upon infallible Destruction. The wicked Shaftsbury was not convinc'd by those Reasons, but answer'd, That the Success of the Attempt he propos'd was not fo uncertain as the Duke imagin'd; that they should have many Men kill'd, but enough would remain to tire out the Slayers, and they should at last prevail. The Duke had some Hopes, which prevented his embracing that desperate Course. He positively oppos'd it, and the thing was put off to a beter Opportu-Shaftsbury was forc'd to submit; but perceiving that the Time was still delay'd, and that as the Faction grew strong in Numbers, there was the more Danger

1682. 1683. 1684. of the Secret's being betray'd, he press'd once more, and appointed a Day for the Execution. The thing was debated, and a farther Delay resolv'd, whereupon the Earl fled into Holland, where he dy'd three Months after.

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His Death. Rye-

The Conspirators were not discourag'd at the Loss of their Chief, and their Projects increasing as they multihouse Plot ply'd in Number, they confin'd not themselves long to the Defign of securing the King; they propos'd to them. felves nothing less than raising a Rebellion in England and Scotland, changing the whole Government, and imbruing their wicked Hands in the Blood of their Sovereign, and his lawful Heir. Such was the Scheme of the too real and true Conspiracy of those Slanderers of the Catholicks. A Protestant Bishop (Dr. Sprat, Bishop of Rochester) has writ the History of it upon as authentick Testimonies, as the Momoirs compos'd by some French Refugees of the Plot invented by Oats, are falle,

and unworthy of the Publick.

All Sects in it.

Never was any Conspiracy compos'd of such Variety of Conspirators; tho' the Presbyterians were predominant, yet there were some of almost all Sects concern'd in it; there were English and Scots; Persons of Quality, Citizens and Handicrafts; Republicans, and some that were for Monarchy, and tho' they would dethrone the Royal Family, were willing to preserve the Throne and Regal Dignity. Thus it appears they had not all the same Defigns, and that some were not altogether so deep in Wickedness as others. We have cause to think so, from the last Words of many of them. The Duke of Monmouth always deny'd he had any hand in the Plot for murdering of the King. An Account publish'd by his Majesty's Order for publick Information, testifies this Difference, and tells us, that after the Earl of Shaftsbury withdrew Chief Con-into Holland, his Accomplices, the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Essex, the Lord Russel, the Lord Grey of Wark, the Lord Howard of Escrick, Algernon Sidney, John Hambden, and other English, in conjunction with the Earl of Arzyle, the Lord Melvil, Montgomery, Ferguson the Contriver of all Plots, and other Fanatick Scots, went on in the Defign they had concerted with their Chief, of raising an universal Rebelion throughout both the Kingdoms, and to that purpose dispers'd their Emissaries into leveral Parts; that at the same time another Gang of more desperate Villains, most of them Olive-

Spirators.

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Oliverians, carrying the wicked Contrivance higher fill, had refolv'd to post themselves in the House of one Richard Rumbold, call'd the Rye, on the Newmarket Road, by which the King and the Duke were to pals in their Return to London, and there to murder them both; that all Things were prepar d for that A flassination on the Day appointed by his Majesty and his Highness to come to London; but that an accidental Fire happening at Newmarket, the Court was oblig'd to come away fooner than had been intended; that the fald unexpected Accident prevented the Conspirators; that they nevertheless not difmaying, waited for some other Opportunity, till in the mean while Keeling, one of their own Gang; discover'd them: And thus not only the Affaffinators, but those contern'd in the intended Rebellion, being discover'd, leveral fled, but others being taken, try'd Execution and convicted, fuffer'd the Punishment they deserv'd; that Ruffel and Sidney were of the latter; the Earl of Effex in despair cut his own Throat in the Tower; that the King pardon'd fome, among whom was the Duke of Monmouth; but that reftless Spirit, so easy to be led to Evil, becoming unworthy of that Favour by fuch a Behaviour as shew'd his Repentance was not fincere, he was necessitated to fly into Helland to his Accomplices, who were gone over before.

This was the Event of a Conspiracy, the Discovery whereof was an Effect of the Divine Providence watching over King Charles the 2d, and his Brother the Duke of York. The Catholicks might have had Matter ebough to infult over their Enemies, were they not brought up in a School, which teaches them to figh at Sins, and not to infult over Sinners. This was the last Danger King Charles was in from the frequent Conspi-Charles racies of his Subjects against him ; for he dy'd soon after, dies. in the Bolom of the Catholick Church, which he did not live in, because of his natural Love of Ease, and for fear of interrupting his Pleasures. In other respects he wasa Prince abounding in Sense, of excellent Behaviour; courteous, amiable, so well spoken, that he has the Commendation of having never faid any thing amil's it might have been added, that he never acted amile, had his Passions permitted him to have acted according to his Knowledge. He dy'd on the 6th of February, 1685. with the Honour of having, as much as in him lay, re-

1685.

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dress'd the Troubles about the Succession, occasion'd by his yielding Temper, and to have retriev'd all by his Resolution to secure it to his lawful Heir the Duke of York; who after so much Opposition found himself peaceably posses'd of the Throne the very Moment it fell to him.

K. James II. proclaim'd. Few Princes have ascended the Throne with more Applause and general Joy of the People, than this last King of Great Britain, the 2d of the Name in England, and the 7th in Scotland, where he is the 13th of the Family of the Stuarts. No sooner were his Predecessor's Eyes clos'd, than he was proclaim'd, and all Men strove to be foremost in paying their Duty to him. Great Rejoycings were at London, at Edinburgh, and at Dublin, the three Capitals of those Kingdoms, follow'd by all other Places, wherein Affection seem'd to be more prevalent than Duty.

The first Actions of the new King confirm'd the good Inclinations of his Subjects, and the Speech he made to his Council, highly oblig'd them, being to this effect:

His Speech Before I enter upon any Business, I have thought fit to dein Council. clare, and acquaint you, that since it has pleased God I should be Succeffor to a Brother, who had so tender an Affestion for me, and to so good and merciful a King, I shall endeavour to follow his Example, and particularly in the sincere Love he had for his Subjects. I have been represented to the World as a Man of Arbitrary Principles; that is not the only Wrong that has been done me; but my Behaviour shall destroy that Slander. I shall use all my Endeavours to preserve the Government both in Church and State, as it is by Law establish'd. I know the Church of England is well affested to Monarchy, and that the Members of it have on several Occasions approv'd themselves loyal Subjects. I shall take particular Care to support and defend it. I am also convinc'd, that the Laws of this Kingdom are sufficient to make a King as great as I desire to be; and as I design to maintain the Prerogatives of the Crown, so will I never go about to take from others what is their Due. I have often ventur'd my Life in defence of the Nation, and am still ready to expose it for the Maintenance of its just Rights.

The Coro- This short Speech was extraordinary pleasing; it pation. look'd natural, great, and at the same time complaisant, which had much Influence on the Minds of all

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Men, and made every Individual strive to add to the Lustre of the Coronation, which was perform'd on St.

George's Day, with the usual Ceremonies, but with such a solemn publick Joy, and Acclamations, that the like had scarce been seen before.

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The calling of the two Parliaments of England and Seffions of Scotland at the same time, perfected the Satisfaction of both Parboth Nations, which they testify'd by such Compliances liaments. as few Kings had met with. That of Scotland, where the Duke of Queensberry prefided as Lord Commissioner, Grants of annex'd to the Crown for ever the Revenue of Excife, the Scotsi which had been given King Charles only for his Life, and granted King James a Subfidy of 216000 Pounds Sterling. That of England did more. Besides the settled Of the Revenues of the Crown, which the Parliament con-English. firm'd in the same manner as his Brother had them before, they without any Contest affign'd him a sufficient Supply for the present Necessities, and that so generoufly, fo ready, and so unanimoufly, that his Majesty affur'd them, the Manner of it was more pleasing to him than the Thing it felf. It was propos'd to fligmatize those who in the late Parliaments had voted for his Exclusion; but one of the Secretaries of State declar'd, that his Majesty had pardon'd all Offences committed against him when he was Duke of York, which Piece of Generofity added much to his Honour. The Catholick Lords, and the Earl of Danby, who had come out of the Tower about the latter End of the last Reign being still upon Bail, the Parliament clear'd them, and at the lame time restor'd the Earl of Strafford. Soine were for addressing the King to put the Laws in Execution against all Nonconformists in general; but that Proposal was rejected, and it was agreed to trust to his Majesty's Word given at his first Accession to the Throne, and reiterated at the opening of the Parliament, that he would maintain the Church of England as by Law establish'd.

That Affembly was in too good a Humour of pleafing Argyle the King, not to give him some singular Tokens of their and Mon-Zeal, upon the News then brought of the Rebellion of mouth at the Earl of Argyle in Scotland, and the Invasion by the tainted. Duke of Monmouth in England. They were both declar'd guilty of High Treason, and both attainted according to Custom. Those Affairs requiring all his Mas

r a jest

The History of the Revolutions in England,

jesty's Attention, he prorogu'd his Parliament to the 14th of August, hoping that Interval would be sufficient to put an End to those Troubles.

Prince of Orange fupports the Duke of Monmouth.

276

His late Majesty King Charles was very sensible that the Duke of Monmouth's restless Temper would occasion new Troubles in the Nation, especially after he underflood, that being retir'd into Holland, the Prince of Orange and the States show'd him much Countenance. His Majesty had made his Complaint, but to little Pur. The Prince of Orange still did the Duke of Mon. mouth much Honour, and order'd his Troops to falute him at Reviews, when he happen'd to be present. The King had forbid it to those he had in the Service of the States by Mr. Chudley, then Minister at the Hague; which the Prince took so ill, that he was in a Passion with Chudley, who had given those Orders to the Offi. cers, without acquainting him, and threatned him, lifting up his Hand. That Minister complain'd to his Master, who was so highly offended at it, that he forbid him seeing the Prince. This was the Posture of Affairs, when K. James succeeding his Brother in the Throne, attempted to get away the Duke of Monmouth privately, whose Ambition that Prince foresaw would sooner or later give him some Trouble. The Thing was not so privately manag'd, but that the Prince of Orange had notice of it, and immediately fent to acquaint the Duke of Monmouth by his Favourite and Confident Bentink, advising him to withdraw to Bruffels, and furnishing him with Money. One of the first things the new King did upon his Accession to the Throne, was to let the Prince of Orange know, how defirous he was rather to live towards him as a Father, than as an Ally and neighbouring King. This ought to have caus'd a right Understanding between that Prince and the Court of England; but the Intelligence kept up between Bentink and Monmouth, certain Proofs whereof were found by Skelton, who succeeded Chudley, in some Papers seiz'd in the Duke's House, gave that Minister just Cause of Jealoufy. The Confequence show'd him to be in the right.

MonThe Duke of Monmouth in Holland met with all that
mouth could conduce to sharpen the Discontent he brought out
with the of England, and to encourage his Ambition of aspiring
Traytors to a Crown. All those that had escap'd from Justice,
in Holland after the Discovery of the Fanatick Plot, stock'd about

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him, and it is easy to guess that such a Gang of Outlaws did not advise him to his Duty. The Earl of Argyle, the Lord Grey, Ferguson, Rumbold and many others, continually dictated their own Sentiments to him. Argyle, Rumbold, and fome others, would have him change Monarchical Government into a Commonwealth; Grey, Ferguson, and their Gang, would have him be King, and flatter'd his Ambition with all that is charming and attractive in a Crown. The Duke had long fince refolv'd what he was to do in that Point; his Heart was bent upon a Throne; but he diffembled with those that were against it, and so dexterously impos'd upon Argyle, as to perswade him he was as much a Republican as himfelf; and being thus agreed among them felves, the Earl promis'd his Endeavours to raise a Rebellion in Scotland, where he had a vast Estate in Land, a numerous Family, and many Friends. Holland was the properest Place to arm upon such a Design, either in regard of the Disposition the Dutch had long been in towards the King of England, or because the Prince of Orange, whom it is believ'd Monmouth still promis'd to Enthrone, had a mind to embrace that Opportunity. The Pretence of Religion feem'd to be a never failing Means to flir up the Zealous, and Seditious Protestants in England, as foon as any Troops from abroad should appear.

It is not well known how far that Project was ad-The Dutch vanc'd, or was intended to be put in Execution, when favour the Duke went to Brussels; but it is certain that his Ab-them.

sence retarded it very little. Notwithstanding Mr. Skelton's pressing Instances to the States General, pursuant to his Master's Orders, for expelling the English Rebels who were plotting there, out of their Dominions, there still remain'd enough to provide Shipping, which the Duke of Monmouth found ready, when the Marquis de Grana, at the Instance of his British Majesty, having oblig'd him to depart Bruffels, that Duke return'd privately into Holland, and lay incognito there. Whatfoever Care the Rebelstook to conceal their Preparations, Mr. Selton, a zealous, and vigilant Man, discover'd them, and made his Complaint. But he was deceiv'd; the particular Ports he had mention'd were order'd to be guarded, but Notice was privately given to the Parties concern'd to make use of others. Thus the Rebels fail'd out of the Ports of Holland without any Obstruction,

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the Earl of Argyle in May, with 3 Ships for Scotland, 1685. and Monmouth in June, with the same Number for England.

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Argyle lands in Scotland.

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The Earl fetting out first, was also the first at landing, and by his speedy Defeat gave a good Omen of entire Success to the King's Arms over the Rebels. This Irrup. tion was rather like an Effort of a Gang of Robbers than a War. Argyle having attempted to land in the North of Scotland, and being disappointed by the Vigilancy of the Bishop of the Orçades, landed in the West, and first incamp'd at Dunstafne Castle, in the Province of Lorn, which had belong'd to him: He omitted nothing that might draw over to him all the Malecontents in the Kingdom, whom he thought more numerous than His Decla- they appear'd to be. He dispers'd about his Declaratiohs, wherein, after protesting that he had taken up Arms only in Defence of Religion and the Laws, against an unjust Usurper, so he stil'd the King, he invited all good Protestants, and fuch Scots as would affert their Liberties to joyn him against a Prince, he faid, was got into the Throne, to ruin the Reformation, and to bring in Popery and Arbitrary Power. Next he fent Letters to those he thought his Friends, to call them to his Affistance. He detach'd two of his Sons, to make Inroads in the Neighbourhood, and compel some by

> Threats, and others by mighty Promiles, to Joyn him. All his Contrivances could not raise him above 3000 Men, with whom he incamp'd in the Isle of Boot, where he was foon, in a manner, befieg'd by the Earl of Dunbarton, with the King's Forces, and feveral other Bodies commanded by the Duke of Gordon, the Marquis of Athol, the Earl of Arran, and other great Men, who came from all Parts to quench the Fire, before it grew to a Head.

He fortifes.

Argyle, being oblig'd to quit a Post he could not make good, went over into a Part of the Country of his own Name, where having hastily fortify'd a Castle call'd Ellingrey, he put into it the Arms and Ammunition taken out of his Ships, which lay at Anchor under the Cannon of a Fort he erected near that Place. There his Rout began; for going out from the Castle with his Forces, to make an Incursion, one of his Parties was defeated by the Marquis of Athol, who flew 400 of his Men; and Captain Hamilton, who attack'd his Ships, with fome

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some of the King's, took them without any Refistance. 1685. The Earl of Dunbarton advancing towards him, at the fame Time, by long Marches, whilst he endeavour'd to fecure himself by Rivers, surpriz'd him passing the Clyde, in the Village of Killern, as he was marching towards Lenox. Dunbarton coming upon them at Night, would have staid till the next Day to attack the Rebels, but they gave him not so much Time, for they pass'd the River in the Night, in such Confusion, that being over-Himself come with Fear, they dispers'd as soon as over. Argylerouted. could scarce rally so many as would make him a small Guard, which was foon scatter'd again; Dunbarton having pass'd the River, and divided his Forces to pursue those that fled. Argyle had taken Guides to conduct him to Galloway; but they mistaking the Way, and leading him into a Bog, most of those that still follow'd him, quitted their Horses, every Man shifting for himself. Argyle himself was making back alone towards the Clyde, when two resolute Servants, belonging to an Officer in the King's Army, meeting him, tho' they knew him not, bid him surrender. He fir'd at and mis'd them; but they took better Aim, and wounded him with a Pistol Ball. Then the Earl drawing his two Pifolsout of the Holsters, quitted his Horse that was quite tir'd, and took the River. A Country Fellow, who came with those two that had first affaulted him, purfu'd him with a Pistolin his Hand; the Earl would have fir'd one of his, but the Flint failing, he was dangerously Is wounwounded in the Head by the Peasant. He discover'd ded and himself as he fell Senseles, crying out, Unfortunate Ar-taken. gyle. They made hafte to draw out, and bring him to himself; after which being deliver'd up to the Officers, he was conducted to Edinburgh, and beheaded. Beheaded. Thus ended his wretched Days, Archibal Campbel, Earl of Argyle; nor could he expect to end them better, being tainted with that Spirit of Rebellion, he had inherited from his Father, one of Cromwel's Adherents, and a resolute Republicantill his Death, which he underwent in the same City, in the Year 1661, for crowning all his Attempts against King Charles the First, by obstinately opposing the Restoration of King Charles the Second. Richard Rumbold, who had follow'd the Earl, Rumbold was taken with him; being the Owner of the House taken and where the Conspirators were to have murder'd the late hang'd. TA King,

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> King, at his Return from Newmarket, and himself one of the prime Contrivers of that Villany! He was hang'd at Edinburgh, at the same Time that the Earl was beheaded. It is faid, they were both much furpriz'd, when inform'd, after their Defeat, that the Duke of Monmouth, after his landing in England, had caus'd him. felf to be proclaim'd King; he having, as they faid, promis'd to concur with them in changing the Monarchy into a Commonwealth.

Prince of

1685,

They were not the only Persons concern'd at that Orange's Declaration of the Duke of Monmouth; the Prince of Practices. Orange receiv'd the News of it with much Indignation. and by his Way of speaking of that Duke, gave greater Occasion to believe he had been impos'd upon by him, as well as others. The Actions of Politicians being al. ways liable to Suspicion, the Prince of Orange upon this Occasion counterfeited such a fort of Zeal for the King his Father-in-law, as the English Minister at the Hague could put no good Construction upon. The News was brought that Monmouth, who had landed at Lyme, was advanc'd with an Army of about 5 or 6000 Men into proclaim'd Somerfetsbire, where after publishing his Declarations, expressing his Designs in behalf of Religion and the Publick Good, and caufing himself to be proclaim'd King, he had resolv'd to fight the Lawful King's Force, that were marching towards him, under the Command of the Earl of Feversbam. Hereupon the Prince of 0range told Mr. Skelton, that the Duke of Monmouth, tho' a Man of Mean Parts, had a Warlike Genius, and knew more of it than most of those that were fent against him; that he intended to affift the King his Father-inlaw upon that Occasion, not only with his Forces, but in Person, and would cross the Sea, to head the Royal Army, and fight the Duke of Monmouth; whereupon the Prince dispatch'd Benting to make that Offer to his Majesty: Skelton law too far at first, to omit sending his Master Advice, that the Assistance was dangerous; and his Express was beforehand with Bentink. King receiving Intelligence in good Time, answer'd the Prince, That it was for their Common Interest that he should flay in Holland, expressing himself after such a

manner as sufficiently show'd that Zeal was not season'

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In short, his Majesty was faithfully and well ferv'd both by his Officers and Soldiers. The Dukes of Grafton, Albemarle, Somerset and Beaufort, the Lord Churchill, Monand other Prime Men, who commanded small Bodies, mouth and the Earl of Feversham General of the Army, hemm'd routed. in the Rebels so close, that they were reduc'd to a desperate Resolution of fighting upon unequal Terms, fo to conquer, or die like Men of Courage. The Battle was fought on the 6th of July at Weston, not far from Bridgewater. The Charge was hot, and lasted fome Time, tho' Colonel Oglethorp foon broke the Rebel Horse, commanded by the Lord Grey, who made little Refistance. The Foot, with the Duke of Monmouth at the Head of them, fought well, and he as long as the Action lasted maintain'd the Reputation of Valour he had gain'd in the World; but was at last forc'd to give way to Discipline, and the Cannon that play'd on The King gain'd an entire Victory. The Duke could scarce rally 50 Horse after the Defeat, and those flaid not long with him. So hot was the Pursuit, that he was oblig'd to retire into a Wood, almost by himfelf. Others taking to that same Place for Shelter, were the Occasion of his being discover'd. All the Avenues to the Wood were guarded, and the thickest Part of it fuccessfully fearch'd with Blood-hounds, who foon found out a Man in a Ditch, under a Hedge, which prov'd a Foreigner, who could fcarce be examin'd, or underflood; yet the Bufinels was so manag'd, that he discover'd the Place where the Duke lay. He was hid in a Andtaken. thick Bush, in a tatter'd Coat, quaking, and in such dread, as blotted out all Signs of that Bravery he so much affected; which shows, that Reason and Judgment, His poor whereof he had but a small Share, are inseparable from Spirit. true Courage, and that it is requisite to Think solidly, in order to Act steddily. He fainted away when taken, and they had much to do to bring him to himself. As foon as a little recover'd, he writ a Letter to the King, full of penitent and submissive Expressions, desiring to be heard, and that Favour was granted him; but prov'd of no Use for the End he intended it. He had already shown too much Fickleness, and that had brought the Kingdom into too much Danger, for the King once more to venture upon Mercy. His Ingratitude towards a Father, who had tenderly lov'd him, heap'd all'manner

1685.

1685. Is executed.

of Favours on him, and several Times forgiven his wic. ked Practices against his own Person, left no Place for an Uncle to expect any better from him. Thus the unhappy Duke of Monmouth was turn'd over to the Judges, who condemn'd him to Death, which was publickly executed at London on the 15th of July. He had a Soul more mean than it was wicked, and that Meannels The Lord Grey made it fit for the greatest Villanies, had been taken some Time before him; towards whom the King show'd such Mercy, as gave Occasion to say he had betray'd his Party.

Executions.

Many others fuffer'd, and even more than the King had defign'd. The Blame is laid on the great Severity of Sir George Jefferies, then a Judge, and afterwards Lord Chancellor, the Barbarity of Colonel Kirk, and the Avarice of those that were commission'd to dispense the Rigour, or the Prince's Mercy to the Rebels; for it is faid, that more or less Guilt was not then made the Motive of inflicting Punishment, or showing Compaffion; but that those who were least able to buy themselves off paid dearest, and if many lost their Lives, it was because few had Money enough to save them. The King was inform'd of those Disorders too late, but as foon as it came to his Ears, he express'd his Displeafure; and tho' the Services perform'd by those that were accus'd, prevail'd with him to spare them, he, as far as in him lay, made amends for their Injustice, by the General Pardon he granted to all the Rebels that were still capable of receiving his Mercy.

There was all the Reason in the World to believe, ginnings of that a Reign which began so fortunately would after K. James. wards prove successful. King James the Second victori-

ous over Monmouth and Argyle, in the Year 1685, reviv'd the Memory of the Duke of York victorious over the Dutch in 1665 and the Persecutions he had suffer'd during that Interval gave fuch Lustre to his Virtue as reflected on his Crown. All Things feem'd to promife him a fettled Felicity; great Enemies conquer'd and destroy'd, a victorious Army on foot; the great Men, and Commons not only submissive, but vying in Duty; all Foreign Princes courting his Friendship, and look. ing on him as the Arbitrator of all Differences in Europe; all these seem'd to be something more than bare Omens of a Peaceful and Happy Reign. And they must infalliby

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libly have been fo, had not King James been a Cathelick; had he profess'd any other Religion, or had none at all, or could he have been so indifferent towards his own as was expected by the Protestants who were jealous of theirs, and the Politicians who have none. He is Religion faid to have been over zealous for the Catholick Church. his Bane. I am none of those who believe a Man cannot exceed in his Zeal for Religion; I am fatisfy'd, that Fire, as Holy as it is, often burns the House of God, when lighted without such Precautions as Prudence prescribes; yet without pretending to flatter a King, from whom by reason of my Birth and Profession I could expect no Advantage, tho' he were still on his Throne, the Sincerity due to History obliges me to remove that Prejudice, which that Prince's Subjects have made use of to justify their Actions, and to show how wrongfully he is blam'd by those after-fighted Politicians, who judging of Things by the Event, always lay the Blame upon the Unfortunate, and without farther Enquiry conclude, that a Man does not act as he ought, if he succeeds not in what he does.

I do not pretend to maintain there were no Faults in The King's that Prince's Council. The King, who is to govern a Defence. restless People; Great Men, who have for a long Time gone by no other Rule but their Ambition; Three Nations, as much differing in Inclinations as in Interest; Subjects of leveral Religions, each of them making it a Partof theirs to push all Things to Extremes; His Majesty himself beset by Ministers, who made it not so much their Bufinels to serve him, as to raise Jealousies that their Fellows were guilty, not of Neglect, or want of Zeal and Capacity, but of the most villainous Practices, and most heinous Treasons; The King, I say, who is in this Condition, stands upon too ticklish Ground, not to make some falle Steps, and sometimes to incline to the worst Side. However this I do affert, that the Behaviour of the King of England was such, throughout all the Course of this Revolution, that, if ever he hap'ned to incline to take the worst Method, it was done absolutely in regard to the Welfare of his Nation, and upon fuch Reasons as would have made those Methods he follow'd the best, had not an unparalell'd Disloyalty, and fuch Treachery as the most solid Judgment could not have prevented, render'd them evil. I will bring no

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other Proofs for my Affertion, but such Facts as are publickly known and out of Dispute; I will deliver them, bating a few Circumstances, as that Prince's Enemies have publish'd them in their Libels, and shall only de. viate from that Turn their Malice has given them; lea. ving the impartial Reader to judge, whether they or I are in the right.

It would be a wrong to the King's Piety, which he professes in so edifying a manner, to say, he did not defire to fee his Subjects return to the Religion of their Fore fathers, from which they have departed by Schifm;

but if they will observe all his Actions without Prejudice, they must needs be convinc'd, that he never intended any other Means than Perswasion to bring them over to his Faith. If they will feriously consider it, they will be farther farisfy'd, and sensible that tho' he was a King, he always look'd upon the Church of England as the Ruling Religion, false in reality, but estabish'd by Law, and which a wife King had the more Reason to oblige, as being almost the only one, among all the Sects that

have distracted England, that is favourable to Kings, Favours and Regal Government. That was the Reason alledg'd the Church by his Majesty in Council, and Parliament, as has been of England already observ'd, which mov'd him to promise to Protect and Support that Church. His Actions were suitable to his Words. The Church of England remain'd poffes'd of the Bishopricks, Parsonages, Universities, and even the Chapels in the Court; and what is still more remarkable, at the Coronation, notwithstanding it was a Point controverted according to the Principles of the Catholick Religion, both He and the Queen had the Ceremony perform'd by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Pri-

mate of the Church of England.

Having done so much for the Religion of the Nation, figns for his Majesty thought himself bound in Conscience, in Carbelicks. Honour, and in Justice, to do something for his own; and that it was very reasonable those of his own Communion should reap some Advantage by his Reign, at least for delivering them from the Oppression they had so long groan'd under. For to take Things right, all he did for them went no farther, and may be reduc'd to two Points; the one, the granting to Catholicks the free Exercise of their Religion; the other the restoring them, a Right to Publick Employments, which they had been

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1685.

wrongfully depriv'd of, or rather enabling himself to imploy useful and loyal Subjects at any time, in such Affairs as should be for the publick Advantage; the Number of them at the same time being so small, in regard to all the rest, that there was no ground for any Jealoufy. This was the Scheme laid by King James, and yet as reasonable as it was, perceiving it would not fail to meet with Obstruction in the Execution, he resolv'd to make use of the Authority of the Crown, temper'd with the Mildness of his Nature, and always observ'd that same Moderation in the Management of that Affair.

He thought that Project could never be better begun Officersreto be put in Execution than just after a Victory, when commendhe had an Army on foot, and a Parliament well affected. ed to the As foon as they were conven'd, he declar'd to them, Parliathat he had retain'd some Officers of his own Religion ment, in his Forces, being Persons he could confide in, and who had always ferv'd him faithfully, who he defir'd might be continu'd, and expected they would not oppose him in that Particular. This was all he faid to that Point; but infishing on the good Effects the happy Union there had been, during the short Time of his Reign, had produc'd in the Nation, they rightly concluded, that in order to render the faid Union more universal and lasting between all the Members of the Monarchy, he had refolv'd to make use of the undeniable Prerogative of his Crown, in difpenfing with Penal Laws, by tempering the Severity of those, which by means of the Test, excluded serviceable Subjects from publick Imployments, and particularly depriv'd him of many faithful Servants.

The King had fufficient Reason to think they would They ophave applauded his Moderation, as only proposing to pose the restore those of his own Perswasion to a small Number King. of Imployments; whereas they had been formerly poflels'd of all for above 12 Centuries; but the Opposition made by the Parliament to his Proposal convinc'd him, that the Followers of King Henry the 8th would not be latisfy'd with his doing little for those that adher'd to St. Edward, for they would allow them nothing at all. No sooner had he spoke, but they began to mutter, and complain'd, that he did not keep his Promise made to the Council and Parliament at his Accession to the Throne, for maintaining of the Church of England; as if the

maintaining of that had been the same as oppteffing of 1685. the Catholicks; whereupon Discontents arising, his Majesty prorogu'd them. However, to shew that what he aim'd at was reasonable, he would have the Controverly decided by able Men of the Church of England.

Debates

He order'd that Cause to be brought before the King's about the Bench, one of the greatest Courts in the Kingdom, that Diffensing Judgment might be given about the Power of diffensing with Penal Laws, whether it was in the King, or not. Sir Edward Hales was brought before this Court, to be fin'd, pursuant to the Test Act, made against all those that should take upon them any publick Imployments without taking the Oaths. Sir Edward Hales produc'd the King's Dispensation to that Law for his Defence; and thus the Case was referr'd to the general Argument concerning the Power of dispensing with Penal Laws. It was hotly argued on both Sides; but the Arguments were fo strong and convincing on the King's Side, that notwithstanding it was to much against the Interest of the Judges to favour his Majesty, they could not deny doing him Justice. It was made appear to them, that the Power debated on, was not only an effential Prerogative of the Crown, but that the Practice of it had been at ancient as the Monarchy it felf; that it had been at all Times and in all Reigns, and interfer'd in most Regal Acts; that the Word, Notwithstanding, so frequently us'd, was always a Dispensation to any Law; that the name as evidently appear'd in the altering of Punishments, and much more in Amnesties, Pardons, and restoring of Offenders to their Forfeited Estates. was fomething still more forcible alledg'd. Instances were brought of Laws, the Execution whereof had not only been stop'd by Kings, with regard to some particular Persons, but by a general Suspension to all the Kingdom, as had lately been done under King Charles the 2d, about the Statute of Carriages, without any Complaint made by the Parliament, or any of the most zealous Persons for the Liberty of the Nation ever offering to fay, that Prince had therein exceeded the legal Bounds of his Authority. They instanc'd in King Henry the 7th, the English Solomon, in whose Council the Law, which forbid the continuing of Sheriffs above one Year, was declar'd void and impracticable, because it obstructed the King's making use of his Subjects, a Reason that made

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made more strongly for dispensing with the Test, than he very Example. Upon these Motives, after a full Hearing of all that could be objected, the Cause went The Judges or the King, and his Dispensation granted to Hales. The give it for ord Chief Justice Herbert gave Judgment, that the De-the King. endant having a Dispensation from the Law by a legal authority, lodg'd in the Sovereign, was consequenty exempted from the Penally. The King, not fatif-y'd with that Judgment, would have the Chancellor The King, not fatifoffult the 12 Judges, who are the Interpreters of the aw. They were all Protestants, and yet all declar'd, hat the Power of dispensing with Penal Laws was unoubtedly in the King.

His Majesty being affur'd of his Right in such legal His Mode nanner, thought he might make use of it for the future ration.

with the less Opposition. He kept in his Catholick Ofcers, and afterwards admitted others, yet few, as Oportunity offer'd, and the great Moderation he pratis'd in that Particular has by many been look'd upon sa Fault, alledging, that had he imploy'd more, no nore Noise could have been made of it, and he had been etter serv'd. Others carry this farther still, and conidering the King's Army as the Foundation of all his Indertakings, and the only Instrument to make those People hearken to Reason, whom neither his legal Preogative, nor his Moderation in making use of it, could revail with to bear with his doing fo, would have had he Catholicks in it numerous enough to awe the reft, nd fo ffrong as to take away from the others all Temp-The Iris Forces might have had ation to Disloyalty. hat Effect, with such loyal English and Scots as might ave join'd them. The King thought he could not in uffice do that wrong to the Protestants, having very good reason, in other respects, to rely on those in his army, where the Soldiers really lov'd him, and most the Officers had substantial Reasons to do so too. The Event has shewn, that the bolder Method had been eff; but Prepossession and the Laws were for the more poderate, and that the King chose. In short, his Moeration wrought on some, but could not prevail on all. here wanted not for muttering, and the Ministers of Seditions he Church of England in some Places had the Boldness Sermons. publickly to preach against their Sovereign's Conduct, nd against those he exempted from the Rigour of the

Laws. Doctor Sharp, Parson of St. Giles's, was very re. 1685. markable in this Particular, inveighing in his Sermont against the Catholicks, in such manner as the most zea-

lous Protestants disapprov'd, and thought too violent,

The King, ever fince first he defign'd to rescue the Catholicks from Oppression, had foreleen that he should be attack'd by the Protestant Preachers, in order to cur whom, he had reviv'd the Instructions set out in the late King's Reign, An. 1662. wherein, among other Things, they are forbid meddling in their Sermons with Matters of State; bringing in question the Rights of Sub jects and Sovereigns; handling certain Points in Divinity, which had formerly occasion'd great Troubles in the Nation, particularly those of Predestination and Free Will; and using any Invectives, Reproaches, Raille ries, or other offensive Words or Expressions, in Point of Controversy. These Injunctions did not hinder the Parson of St. Giles's from breaking loose; he transgress'd several of them in a Sermon, and there was Danger of his continuing so to do, had not some Remedy been apply'd. The King being inform'd of it, presently apply'd himself to the Bishop of London, requiring him to do Justice; but could obtain no other Satisfi-Etion, than a flight Admonition to the Offender, which was not fit to correct a hot Man, and put a stop to the dangerous Example; whereupon his Majesty having consulted what he had Power to do, in order to repress that Licentiousnels, he was advis'd to grant the Eccle-

Ecclesiasti-fiastical Commission. This is a fort of Court sufficientcal Court. ly made use of in England, fince the Schism has caus'd

the Kings to be own'd Heads of the Church. The first Protestant Kings had instituted the High Commission Court; but the Power given it, said to be of too large an Extent, having render'd that Name odious, it was suppress'd, and that of the Ecclefiastical Commission was fet up, with a more limited Power, which even the Parliament had thought necessary for curbing of the Clergy, for regulating their Lives, and for obliging them to do their Duty. This Expedient keeping in awe the Ministers of the Church of England, being thought still more seasonable under a Catholick King than under another, his Majesty reviv'd that Commilfion, composing it of Bishops and Lay-men, all Men of

Distinction, and Protestants. As foon as erected, the Bishop

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abou prore ceiv' they Bishop of London and the railing Parson were summon'd 1686. before it. The Bishop could hardly be brought to own the Jurisdiction of the Court, notwithstanding the Bishop of Archbishop of Canterbury, his Metropolitan, was one of London the Commissioners; however, at last he submitted, and suspended. after urging what weak Reasons he had for not punishing of Sharp's Flight, they were both suspended their Ecclefiaffical Functions during the King's Pleasure, and four Prelates were appointed to perform the Episcopal Duty

in the Diocese of London during that Time.

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That Example starti'd the Ministers, and having Catholicks filenc'd them for some Time, his Majesty, with less Op-preferr'da position, bestow'd such Imployments as he thought fit on those few Catholicks he defign'd to prefer; all which amounted to some Places in the Privy Council conferr'd by Degrees on the Lords Pown, Arundel, Bellasis, Dover, Tyrconnel, Castlemain, and Peterborough; three or four confiderable Governments to the Earl of Tyrconnel, Widdrington, Langdale, and Hales; and some other Posts fill'd by the Lords Thomis Howard and Sunderland, Sir -Butler and Titchburn, Mr. Brown, and Mr. Porter, Bishop Gifford made President of Magdalen College in Oxford, and with him some other Doctors of his own Religion, to chastise the refractory Protestants, who had oppos'd his Right of appointing one of their own. It is to be observ'd, that some of those here nam'd had been imploy'd under the late King. In the Army there were few besides the Duke of Berwick, the Lords Dover. Dunbarton, and Montgomery, and Colonel Hamilton; and aboard the Navy Sir Roger Strickland, that had any confiderable Posts.

Whilst this Point relating to the Test was settling af- 16876 ter this manner, his Majesty consider'd of settling Li-Liberty of berty of Conscience, which was the 2d Project he had Conscience form'd in favour of his own Religion. Having fet out in Scota Declaration to that Effect in the Year 1687. which land. included many Sects of Nonconformists, he fent it prefently into Scotland. It was directed to the Privy Council; the Opposition made by the Parliament of Scotland about dispensing with the Test, having oblig'd him to prorogue that, as well as the English. The Council receiv'd the Declaration with an unanimous Affent, tho' they abolish'd all the Oaths invented against Catholicks

they gave his Majesty to understand, in a Letter fign'd by them all, that the Precautions us'd by him for the Security of the Church of England, made them readily acquiesce in the Liberty he gave to his Nonconformit Subjects, and then publish'd the Declaration.

In England.

This good Temper of Scotland gave Hopes of the like in England, and in short, the Privy Council in London ap. prov'd of the Declaration, as had been done at Edinburgh; yet it was more moderate, as not utterly abolishing the Oaths made against Catholicks, as that sent into Scotland did, but only suspending them, and exempting all those that were, or should be put into publick Imployments without taking the Oaths, from the Penalty of the Law.

Addresses.

The Share the Presbyterians had in that Act of Grace, made them receive the Declaration with fingular Demonstrations of Joy; nor were the other Sects less fatisfy'd, all of them testifying their Gratitude by their several Addresses presented by each of them to the King in their own Style. Only the Church of England was displeas'd, and whatsoever some well meaning Bishops could do for the publick Repose, they could not prevail upon the others to approve of the Declaration. most moderate were those who only express'd their Discontent by their Silence. His Majesty had us'd all Means to fatisfy them. Befides that, the Declaration confirm'd his Word so often given for maintaining the Church of England as by Law establish'd, all it contain'd in favour of the other Sects, and even of the Catholick Religion, was a bare Permission to meet in private Chapels, forbidding them to meddle with any Protefrant Church; and farther affuring all those who were posses'd of any Abby, or other Church Lands, that they should be protected in the free and peaceable Possession of their Estates, as they had been till then.

All this Management, and those Affurances, could of Parlia- not calm the ill Humour of the Episcopal Party, the ment Men. more difficult to be prevail'd upon, because the Parliament still continu'd to oppose the King's Designs: Who, that what he had done in favour of his own Religion might be the more permanent, would have had them to ratify the Liberty of Conscience, and repeal the Test by a positive Law, which cannot be done in England by the King without the Parliament. His Majesty

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us'd all his Endeavours to prevail against the Opposition 1687. made by that Affembly, which in other respects was well affected to him, and he was willing to continue. He prorogu'd them several Times for two Years, labouring during that Time to gain them; even to discourfing every one of them particularly in his Closet, which made the English call that Way of Conference Closetting, that is, perswading in the Closet. There his Majesty represented to them, that fince four Monarchs attempted, and so many wife Politicians us'd all the properest Means to establish Uniformity of Religion in England, and all in vain, the only Method for fettling fuch Peace in the Nation, as might not be disturb'd by Religion, was to allow every Man the Liberty of living in his own; that the perfecuting of Nonconformists at home, made good Subjects go abroad, who were advantagious to foreign Countries, and those who stay'd were unealy and discontented; and if they had not Virtue enough to bear with their Troubles, they were always ready to encourage Rebellions, and join with Factions; that the fatal Consequences of it had been seen in the late Reigns, against which no King could secure his Person or his Subjects, without taking away from refflels Spirits the Pretence of Religion, which they abus'd to disturb others. The King back'd these Arguments with Promiles, and fometimes supported them both with some Signs of Displeasure; for he remov'd some from the Imployments they held under him, alledging, it was not reasonable they should enjoy his Favours, who refus'd to serve him. All this prov'd ineffectual towards reducing of those obstinate Minds, and the King, tho' never so much against his Inclination, was oblig'd to distolve that Parliament. The Protestants, who charge him with what he did to secure to himself the Votes of that Assembly, as an irregular Method, and contrary to the Liberty provided by the Laws for that Assembly, had forgot what violent Courses were follow'd by King Henry the 8th upon the like Occasions, and how so many other Kings have prevail'd on their Parliaments to lubmit to their Wills. King James the 2d fell much OldInftanthort of them, and if we will but confult History, we shall ces of Clos find that two of the most famous Parliaments that ever fetting. England beheld, did justify that Proceeding in the Reign U 2

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of King Edward II, and that of Richard III. The De. 1687. bate was about Roman Bulls, which feem'd to invade the King's Prerogative. The Parliament intreated Ed. ward, and compell'd King Richard almost against his Will. to confer in private with all the Members, in order to procure Assurances of what might be rely'd on towards supporting the Rights of the King and Crown against the See of Rome, for which the antient English had an extraordinary Respect; and it was after these Closettings, that those Statutes pass'd, for which the Popes were so highly offended with those two Kings.

QuoWarranto's.

These Precedents were not sufficient to excuse King James the 2d's Proceedings from being look'd upon as contrary to Law; and the Complaints ran still higher, when he, in order to secure a Parliament that might be more favourable to his Defigns, made use of the Quo Warranto, as the King his Brother had done, and took the necessary Measures, with those that were chief at Elections, for reforming of those Corporations that have Right to chuse. They were in a complaining Humour, and the least Step the King took in favour of his own Religion, was look'd upon by the Protestants as the Destruction of theirs. His Majesty had been of Opinion, that being a Catholick, no Fault could be found with him for having an Agent with the Pope, for the Direction of his Conscience, and for receiving a Mi-

Nuncio.

nister of his with the Respect due to the Person he The Pope's represented; but he was deceiv'd. It was allow'd him to keep an Agent at the Turkif Court; but they would not bear with his having one at the Court of the Head of his Religion. They approv'd of his giving an honour. able Reception to the Morocco Ambassadors, and were enrag'd at his admitting, with some fort of Ceremony, tho' only in his own House, a Minister from him he acknowledg'd to be the Vicar of JESUS CHRIST. The Duke of Somerfet was commended for having refus'd to introduce the Nuncio, and the Duke of Grafton, who obey'd, was look'd upon as guilty of fuch Impiety, as he could no way expiate but by deferting. It was much refented, that a Catholick King should forbid a fort of Festival, on which, in an outragious Manner, they yearly burnt the Pope in Effigie. There was no

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faying Mass; no opening a Chapel or School; no doing Right to any Catholick, tho' never so much wrong'd; no punishing of Libellers, or seditious Preachers, or notorious perjur'd Wretches, if they pretended never so little Zeal against Catholick Religion, but presently the Church of England was in an Uproar; and it is a Connection of such fort of Facts, as still fill up the Writings of certain Sectaries, who have endeavour'd by that Means to show, that England had just Cause to be alarm'd at the King's Defigns against the Religion of the Those among us, who upon reading such Accounts, have thought that Prince's Conduct hotter than it ought to have been, were certainly millead by the Number of those Facts, purposely pack'd together in those Books, to impose upon the Readers. Those who read confiderately, and compare ten or twelve Facts heap'd together, to make the greater Show, with the Extent of three Kingdoms, and the Term of four Years that King fate upon the Throne, make another fort of Judgment of a Sovereign, who being very zealous for his Religion, was confin'd by his Moderation to do so little, and what he did so slowly, in favour of it.

It is not unlikely, that even the zealous Protestants would have recover'd from the Frights they were put in-Practices to by their Ministers, had not the Ambition of some against the Great Men interfer'd with Religion, and a remaining King. Part of the Faction that had so hotly oppos'd the King when Duke of York; had not both those Ingredients temper'd a Poison, which in short Time affected all the noble Parts of the Nation. The Shaftsburian Faction, rifing again, as it were, out of its Ashes, made use of an Argument, not unlike that of the Jews when they flew the Messias, to perswade some Lords, either of the Episcopal, or Presbyterian Sect, or of those many who, under those two Names, have no Religion at all, that the Romans would ingross all the Imployments in the Kingdom, and draw to themselves all the Prince's Favours; that in a short Time there would be none but them in confiderable Posts; that Protestants would be excluded; and Things would be brought to such a Pals, that there would be no other Course for them, but either to turn Catholicks, or live private in their U 3

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own Houses. To prove this, they produc'd some In stances, which tho few in Number, nevertheless were

plausible.

trigues.

The King, at his first coming to the Crown, had made his two Brothers-in-law, the Earls of Clarendon and Ro. chefter, the first, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and the latter, High Treasurer of England. Afterwards the Catho. licks believ'd those two Lords, tho' then firm to the King, being zealous Protestants, would in those great Posts disappoint whatsoever his Majesty had done in or. der to deliver the Church from Oppression. The Earl of Sunderland, the prime Minister, incompatible with Rochester, and his profes'd Enemy, had laid all that Plot to get rid of a Rival, whom he had much reason to fear, and had always hated. The King, who lov'd his Brothers-in-law, and particularly Rochefter, long withstood the Prayers and Sollicitations made use of to him to put them out of their Imployments; he study'd Reasons to support his Inclination; but that which was urg'd for so doing being convincing, he was at length prevail'd on to re-call Clarendon out of Ireland, and fend Tyrconnel thither. He try'd to convert Rochester, who comply'd fo far, as to hear Catholicks and Protestants dispute, as if he had sought after the Truth; but in all likelihood he only aim'd at gaining a Reputation of Constancy with those of his own Church, and to make good his Credit which declin'd at Court. Whatfoever Advantage the Catholicks gain'd in that Disputation, the Earl went away a Protestant, and freely laid down his white Rod, the Imployment being put into Commission, and 5 Persons concern'd, the Lords Dover and Bellasis, two Catholicks, being of the Number. King made the two Earls all the Satisfaction he thought might render their Disappointments easy; but the Event show'd that they took them to Heart, and their Example was very useful to seditious Persons, to make . . 11 . 1. others apprehentive of the fame.

Methods of combining.

The Confederacy was the easier to form, because the Faction, after the Example of Shaftsbury, their old Head, discover'd but half their Designs to most of those they endeavour'd to seduce. That of dethroning the King was made known but to few, and the main Body of the Nation may be faid to have ingag'd in it, without thinking

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thinking of, or defigning it. The Security of the Protestant Religion; the reducing of Catholicks within the Bounds prescrib'd by the Laws made against them; the Liberties of the Parliament; the removing of Arbitrary Power, then faid to threaten the Nation, and which the King feem'd nearer a Condition to exercise than any of his Predecessors, unless speedily prevented; the bringing back of Honours and Preferments into Protestant Families, which they thought would foon be transferr'd to Catholicks, were the Propolals made to those they thought unfit to hear of bolder Defigns, and the Motives urg'd for their affociating together; not to shake off the King, but to oblige him, as they said, to govern according to Law. The Defign succeeded; they affociated, and abundance of People were the less cautious of engaging, because the Head propos'd to them for carrying on this Enterprize pretended to be remote in Thought from carrying on this Invafion.

This Moderation prov'd an effectual Motive made Prince of use of by the Prince of Orange, to engage the English Orange Lords not only to follow, but to invite him to come o- invited. ver and head them, in order to oblige the King to govern more conformably to the Laws. His manner of proceeding therein was neither to hot or rath, as to enter upon Action unseasonably; he had permitted the Hot-Heads to act, still keeping himself in such a Poflure as to make his Advantage of their Success, without running any Hazards by their Indiscretions. The His Beba-Prince us'd all the Art other Men apply in preparing viour to the themselves for acting in bold Undertakings, towards English, proceeding in this upon fure Grounds, and fucceeding without any Hazard, always entertaining a Correspondence with his Majesty; omitting none of the Respect due from a Son-in-law to a Father-in-law; pretending to be zealous for his Service; and transacting with his Ministers as if he had been the first of them. This Behaviour was the more successful in imposing upon the King, because the Prince of Orange, for a long Time did scarce any thing but Think, observe the Motions of the English, and dispose his Affairs accordingly, for a seasonable Conjuncture. The fetting up again of the old Cabal, upon the Occasion above mention'd, made him

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> conclude the Time was then come, and much more the Conferences he had with some of those Factious Perfons, who, whilft the others treated with the Lords at home, went over into Holland, under several Colours. to treat with him.

Pratices abroad.

1688.

The Prince being affur'd of a Party in the Kingdom, apply'd himself to deprive the King of all the Succours he might receive from Abroad. His Majesty had concluded an Alliance with Spain, and therefore had reason to be perswaded that the House of Austria would, at least, not oppose him, especially where Religion was concern'd. He had not concluded any particular Trea. ty with France, but was a personal Friend, and too near a Kin to that King, not to be succour din Time of Need. To cut him off these two Supports, the Prince, on the one Hand, enter'd himself and drew the Dutch into the League of Ausburg against France, in order to draw the Forces of the Allies upon that Monarchy, in case it should attack the States, whilft their Troops were crof. fing the Sea, upon the English Defign; on the other, he render'd the King his Father-in-law suspected to the House of Austria, as a Prince ill affected to its Projects, and strictly united in Interest, and ingag'd to France by a Treaty, which would appear, when the Season were proper.

Reasons why the not break with France.

The Emperor and Catholick King were the more fulceptible of those Jealousies, in regard that their Mini-King could fters had ineffectually endeavour'd to draw the King of England into the League they had concluded with the German Princes against France. The Count de Caffanaga, Governor of the Spanish Flanders, and the Ambasfador, Don Pedro Ronquillo, had spar'd no Pains to bring him in, and the latter went fo far as to promife, that if he would confent to it, the Parliament should comply with all he had done for the Establishment of Religion. Had the King been inclin'd to League against France, it is likely it would not have been upon the Interest that Spaniard pretended to have in his Parliament; the natural Propenfity of the Nation, then height'ned by the Clamours of the French Fugitive Calvinifts, would have been a more plaufible Motive. Those who say, he ought to have laid hold of that Opportunity to gain the Affections of his Subjects, do not confider how incongruous

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that Proceeding would have been, and that the Confederacy then propos'd, being only the Consequence of another, concluded at Magdeburg by the Protestants, on account of the Hugonots, it must have been preposterous in a King who was endeavouring to obtain Liberty for the Catholicks in England, to join in re-establishing the most violent Protestants in France. Besides, he could not in Policy cast off a fure Friend, to joyn with Princes who could no longer be serviceable to him, than whilst they stood in Need of him; fince the Protestants began to prevail fo far upon their Piety, as to draw them into a formal League against a Catholick King, in Favour of the Calvinists he had expell'd his Dominions. So that the King of England did discreetly in answering the Spanish Ambassador, that he would inviolably observe the Alliance concluded with his Master; but the fame Justice oblig'd him not to interrupt the Friendship there was between him and the most Christian King his Kinfman; who was willing to live in Peace with his Neighbours, and preserve it among them if he could.

This Answer did not satisfy the Councils at Vienna Leaguing and Madrid, and it is likely dispos'd the Emperor, and abroad. King of Spain, to hearken to the Proposals made to them by the Prince of Orange, now not only against France, but against the King of England also. I am of the same Opinion with those who believe, that he observ'd the fame Method for gaining of them, that his Partifans had done to draw in the English Lords, which was acquainting them with but half his Defigns, and perswaded them that all the End of his going into England was only to oblige the King to joyn with them against France. This Judgment methinks ought to be made on Account of the Religion of the House of Austria. The Continuance of the League after the Dethroning of the English Monarch, is an Argument to the contrary, not eafily to be answer'd; but it is frequent to proceed, when once ingag'd, in fuch Things as we should not ingage in, could we in the beginning foresee where they would However that was, thus the fatal League which drove the King of England from his Throne and Dominions, was form'd. The Prince in the mean while under-hand made the necessary Warlike Preparations to cross the Sea. The Dutch did not only furnish him with

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Forces and Shipping, but the better to enable him to fight the King his Father-in-law, with his own Weapons, kept back fix Regiments of his Majesty's Sub. jects, which had been long in their Service, and whatever the King could do to draw them away, he never was able to compais it.

Prince of Wales born.

This was the Time when the Queen prov'd with Child of the Prince of Wales, and was deliver'd of him on the tenth of June, 1688. The Faction us'da double Artifice to make their Advantage of an Accident, which must naturally have ruin'd them; the one was giving out among the People, that the Child was not born of the Queen; the other, the frighting of the Great Men with the Apprehention, that the Sovereignty was like to be continu'd in a Catholick Line, to the Overthrow of the Protestant Religion, and of their Fortunes. The first of those Artifices did not succeed, nor did the Authors of it gain any Reputation; fo many Witnesses above all Exception had feen the Prince of Wales born; fo many faw him immediately after, that the Fable feem'd insupportable even to those whose greatest Concern it was to keep it up. The second was but too fuccefsful. Many had Patience enough to fee a Catholick on the Throne, in hopes that a Protestant Heir would fucceed, and make the Sectaries amends for what had been taken from them by an Orthodox King. They comforted themselves with the View, that King James the Second having reviv'd the Reign of Queen Mary, the Princess of Orange would again bring in that of Queen Elizabeth. It was a great Disappointment to them to have a Prince of Wales born, who could not fail of being brought up in the Catholick Religion, which must perpetuate it on the Throne, and in Time bring it to prevail among the People. It is generally believ'd, that Confideration advanc'd the Prince of Orange's Interest more than any other, either by increasing the Number of those who favour'd the Defign, or by inducing the others to joyn in that he pretended to, of circumscribing the Sovereignty within the Bounds of the Law; and disabling the King from attempting any thing either against the Religion of the Country, or the Liberty of the Nation

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The famous Business of the Bishops, which hap'ned about this Time, gave the finishing Stroke to the Dispofition towards a Revolution. That was Originally a Bishops reContrivance of the English Presbyterians, or rather of suse to pubtheir Parsons, who thinking to make their Advantage of lish the Dethe Controversies between the Court, and Church of Encolaration.
gland, caus'd some Catholicks to infinuate to the King,

that the better to bring the Parliament to grant the Liberty of Conscience, he should oblige the Bishops to publish it in the Churches. The King having nothing more at Heart than the fettling that Point upon a folid Foundation, approv'd of that Expedient, which feem'd not liable to any Opposition, the Custom of publishing the Sovereign's Commands in Churches having been always us'd in England, as well as in other Countries. He accordingly order'd the Bishops so to do. Such of those Prelates as hap'ned to be then at London, meeting at the Archbishop of Canterbury's House at Lambeth, laid hold of that Opportunity to make known how averse they were to the Declaration, and refolv d not to publish it, as was requir'd of them. However to mollify their Refulal, and to prevent being look'd upon as Refractory, they drew up a Perition, which was presented to the King by the Archbishop himself, attended by the Bishops of St. Asaph, Bath and Wells, Chichester, Ely, Bristol, and Peterborough. The Purport of the Petition was, that their Consciences would not permit them to pay fuch Submiffion as they should upon all other Occasions; that they defir'd Regard might be had to the due Nicety they ought to proceed with in that Particular; that the Affair in Hand concern'd the maintaining of the Rights of the Church of England, and the Laws of the Nation, which were invaded by his Majesty's dispensing with the Test, added to the Liberty of Conscience, contrary to the Establish'd Government, and the Acts of Parliament of 1662, and 1672. This last Clause provok'd the King to give a sharper Answer than he would have done, had the Bishops confin'd themselves only to such Reasons as concern'd the Church. I did not expett, said his Majesty, such a Remonstrance, or that you of all my Subjects should question my Authority. The Rights of the Church of England are not concern'd in this Affair, tho' you plead them, but only the Prerogative of the Crown,

which I am refolv'd to maintain. I am your King, it is your Part to okey me, and that you ought to do out of Can. Science and Duty.

His Majesty having dismiss'd the Prelates, call'd his the Tower. Council to confider of the Means to bring them to Sub. mission, and prevent the mischievous Effects their Ex. ample might produce. It was refolv'd to Summon them; they appear'd, but not with any Defign to obey the Prince, or his Council's Orders. They were told, that being charg'd with having publish'd a Libel, as gainst the Regal Authority, under Colour of presenting a Petition, they should give in Bail, according to the Laws they pretended so much Zeal for, in order to their appearing at the King's-Bench within a Time prefix'd, to answer in that Court to what should be brought in against them. By the Behaviour of the Englifb during this last Century, a Man might say, there are no Laws in England, but only against the Kings. Those very Bishops, who found such fault that the King should dispense with the Laws, made no Disticulty to refuse to submit to them, and would not give Bail; whereupon the Council, having taken it into Confideration, unanimously concluded to commit them to the Tower. They were conducted thither, and the they pretended that being Peers they could not be oblig'd to fubmit to the Judgment of the King's-Bench; yet so many able Lawyers'convinc'd them of the Legality of the Proceeding, that at last they submitted, and were brought to a Trial there. There was much pleading on both Sides, but their Arguments were fo weak, that they were fain to disown their Petition, which could not be prove theirs, because the King was alone in his Closet, when he receiv'd it, and the King cannot be a Witness, especially where he is concern'd himself; a Custom very different from those Times, when the Kings of England concluded their Proclamations with these Words, Witnefs my Self.

Their Trial

How clear d.

By this base Slight the Bishops were discharg'd. They were beholding to the King for the Eafiness of procuring a favourable Jury, and employing all their Friends to follicite for them. For his Majesty gave them all polfible Means to extricate themselves from the Difficulties they were intangled in, hoping, it is likely, that his

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Goodness might prevail to bring them to their Duty, 1688. and that for the future they would give an Example to others not to deviate from it. He found himfelf miftaken; for the Trial had alienated the Minds of those Prelates from him, and his Clemency did not reconcile them. I know not whether the Faction had before tempted them to join with those that invited the Prince of Orange; but it is certain they made effectual Use of this new Discontent to overcome that Refistance, if they had made any. The Behaviour of fix of them was atterwards a fufficient Demonstration, that they never intended to join with those who were for destroying the King; but only to espouse the Cause of those who were imposed upon, like themselves, and made to believe they would only oblige him to govern according to Law. It was doubtless this Artifice that prevail'd on Theyingite those Prelates to write to the Dutch Prince, praying the Pr. of him to expedite his March, and come in to the De-Orange. fence of their Religion and Laws, which they pretended the King had again invaded by imprisoning of

There being no more room for the Prince of Orange The King to doubt of a general Conspiracy to back his Defigns, acquainted he hastned his Preparations more than he had done be-with the fore, and that Haste gave Occasion to the Count D'A- Designs avaux, the French Ambassador in Holland, not only togainst bim. suspect that the Prince had other Defigns, than what became a good Statholder in keeping the Dutch Fleet and Forces in a Readine's, but to perceive that all his Projects lay against England. He gave the King his Master notice of it, and that way the King of England receiv'd the first exact and positive Intelligence. I say, exact and positive; for Mr. Skelton residing in Holland, had long fince discover'd that the Prince of Orange was intriguing That Minister had such Interest in with the English. the Princess's Family, as avail'd him to intercept some Letters, which, tho' they did not in plain Terms express what was in Agitation, declar'd enough to understand that something was carrying on against the King. He gave notice of it; but the frequent Talk there was of Treason in the English Court, made them very often flight true as well as false Intelligence. That which his molt Christian Majesty receiv'd from the Count D'A-

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vaux was fuch as he thought ought not to be fo little regarded; he press'd the King of England to take such no. tice of it as it deferv'd, and use the necessary Precau. tions to defend himself against the Invasion that threatned his Dominions.

telligence.

Mr. Skel- Mr. Skelton coming into France much about the same ton's In- time, as Envoy Extraordinary, held Intelligence with a Man, who gave him much Infight into this Affair we speak of. His Name was Bude de Verace, a Geneva Pro. testant. He had formerly been a Captain in the Prince of Orange's Guards, and having kill'd a Man in a Duel, was difgrac'd. Skelton had made his Peace for him, upon the Recommendation of the Earl of Clarendon, who having caus'd his Son the Lord Cornbury to he bred up at Geneva, was oblig'd to Verace for the Care he had taken of him. This Genevian being restor'd to his Mafter's Favour, made a greater Progress in it than he had done before, and was much trusted by him, and his Favourite Bentink. I know not upon what occasion he tell at variance with them, and went away. He was gone back to Geneva, when upon the Noise of the Warlike Preparations made in Holland, he writ to Mr. Skelton, then at Paris; that he had fuch things to communicate to the King of England, as concern'd no less than his Crown, and the laying open to him a Son-in-law he was not jealous enough of; but that he would not discover his Secret to any but the King himself, if his Majesty thought fit he should repair to him.

The King incredulous.

Hereupon Mr. Skelton sent 5 or 6 Letters into England, all of them very earnest and pressing, and much in the fame Style as those writ to his Master by Order of the Most Christian King. On the other hand, the Marquils D'Albyville, Envoy from England to the States, was not wanting in his Duty. Thus the King had Intelligence enough not to be surpriz'd. He took notice of thele Advices too late, and several Reasons are alledg'd, why he did it not sooner. The Prince of Orange still behav'd himself in such manner towards him, as gave no Occation to entertain any fuch Jealoufy. That Prince continu'd paying him the fame dutiful Respects, even to complimenting him, as others did, upon the Birth of the Prince of Wales, and caus'd that his Brother-in-laws Name to be added to the rest of the Princes of the Fa-

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mily, to be pray'd for in his Chapel. Besides, when the Noise of the Armament was spread abroad, Van Citters, the Ambassador of the States, positively assur'd him, that it no way concern'd England, suggesting to his Majesty, that France had more cause to take the Alarm than he. On the other hand, that Monarch, relying on the Fidelity of those Persons he could not fuspect would fail in it, thought himself in a Posture not to fear any Attempts of the Dutch. He had a Land Army, a Fleet at Sea, fufficient Magazines to disappoint all the Defigns of Europe, had he been as well ferv'd by those he imploy'd, as he had Reason to expect. Treafon it felf is faid to have back'd those Reasons of Security he had conceiv'd, and his Prime Minister is accus'd of it.

That Minister was Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, Secretary of State, and Prefident of the Council. His Sunder-Name sufficiently shows his Birth, which a plentiful land. Estate, and much Sense, might have supported in a Degree becoming his Ancestors, had his Behaviour been fuitable. I will deliver what is faid on both Sides. Those who accuse him of Infidelity, ground their Charge Enemies upon Circumstances and Facts, and fay, the Earl of charge him Sunderland was an Enemy reconcil'd to King James through Policy and Necessity; that no Man had push'd on the Business of the Exclusion in the several Parliaments more hotly than he; and that he had never fought after his Friendship, till he saw him uppermost; that he was one who refolv'd to keep in with the prevailing Party, yet to as to have a Hole to creep out at, in case of any Change; that whilft he adher'd to the Parliament Factions against the Royal Family, he held friet Correspondence with one of King Charles's Mistresses, who had reconcil'd them, and by his means the Duke of York also; that being become Prime Minister, and almost the only one, to the latter, after his Accession to the Throne, he had been zealous for him, during his Prosperity; but as soon as he discover'd a Party was forming against him, he had held Correspondence with his Enemies; that the Countels, his Wife, constantly writ to the Princels of Orange; and his Unkle Henry Sidney, one of the Heads of the Faction, was gone over into Holland, to the Prince; that the Earl in a printed Letter

Earl of

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Letter owning, that he had fided with the Catholicks. and embrac'd their Religion, to be the better able to ferve the Protestants, is a Proof he was not always of the Side he feem'd to be; that no other Judgment can be made of the Violence he us'd towards his Mafter, per. fwading him, contrary to his own Inclination, to bring F. Petre into the Privy Council, against his own Will, notwithstanding the Opposition made by the Queen, and in spight of the most essential Laws of the Order that Father profess'd, which his Majesty, to please his Minister, at that time made subservient to the Right he thought he had of disposing of his Subjects; that no other Inference can be drawn from that Lord's Proceedings in the Disturbance about the Bishops, whom he caus'd to be hard fet in the Council, and yet favour'd under-hand; that the flight Account that Ministermade of io many Advices brought the King, of the Defigns of his Son-in-law and the Dutch, must needs be attributed to an evil Intention, as must the Methods he afterwards perswaded him to follow, which depriv'd that Monarch of the only Means left him to oppose his Enemies.

These are most of the Proofs of the famous Earl of bis Friends, Sunderland's Infidelity, alledg'd by those that charge him with Breach of Faith; those who are for excusing him, answer thus: That it is no infallible Rule, that a reconcil'd Enemy cannot become fincere; that a Man may fave himself a Resource with a Party, without embracing it; that the Earl was never convicted of having any personal Understanding with his Master's Enemies, tending to betray him; that his Wife's Correspondence with the Princess of Orange, tho' suspicious at that Conjuncture, is not a sufficient Reason to charge the Husband with fuch a Crime; that Sidney, tho' his Kinfman, might deceive him, as well as others, and make him believe his going over into Holland was only for his Health, and intended to the Spaw, which was the Pretence of it; that his confessing he became a Catholick, the better to ferve the Protestants, is rather an Excuse than any Proof of his combining with them, fince there is no need of an Excuse to them that a Man acts in concert with; that in the Business of F. Petre, the Earl sought for one on whom he might reject the Offence taken at thole things that were displeasing to the People, in the Con-

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a Kin his I French duct of the Court; that the Enterprize of the Prince of Orange and the Dutch, against a powerful King, defended by a considerable Army, seem'd so extraordinary, that not being able to give Credit to it, he thought himself oblig'd to make slight of all the Advices; that in case he had been oblig'd to believe it, those very Forces he saw about his Master made him positive in rejecting such Succours, as he thought dangerous, and could not think necessary. Thus do they excuse that English Minister, who undertake that Province. I leave it to the more judicious Reader to decide that Question, that I may proceed in my History.

The King of France, and the English Envoy at his French Court not defisting, made themselves be heard. Orders Succours were sent to the Envoy to call the Genevian, and his offer'd, most Christian Majesty was given to understand, that his Care was acceptable; whereupon he, not satisfy'd with having given Notice of the Danger, sent Mons. Bonneyos to London to offer the necessary Succours for avert-

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King Lewis was then preparing to attack the Ausburg The That League had been form'd against him, on League of pretence that he had fince the Peace poffes'd himself Ausburga of the Towns of Strasburg and Luxemburg. Whatfoever Right he might have so to do from several Causes of Discontent, which do not belong to this History, the Allies were provok'd at it. The War was about to begin again, had not thole who were for averting of it found the Expedient of a Truce, the Length whereof made it feem more advantagious to the Publick than a Peace. The League of Ausburg having made it appear, that the Allies intended not to observe the Cessation of Arms any longer than till they were in a Condition to take them up again to their Advantage, his Majesty resolv'd to be before hand with them. His Troops were ready for that Enterprize, when being concern'd at the Difficulties the King of England was under, he preferr'd the Interest of his Friend before his own, and order'd Bonrepos to offer him his Forces, and Ships to transport them.

Considering the Thing rightly, it was a nice Point for Reasons a King of England to bring an Army of Strangers into for and his Dominions, and those Catholicks, and especially against French. It was enough to blacken the Memory of a French Prince Succours.

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Prince in the Minds of his Nation, and an Acknowledgment of all the Reports spread abroad, of his having enter'd into an Alliance on purpose to suppress the Liberties and the Religion of the Country. Befides, the King had more than a sufficient Number of Forces to withstand all the Attempts of the Dutch, which his Navy alone was able to oppose, and when the worst should happen, his Army could scarce fail to overcome, as being much more numerous, and well disciplin'd. Sunderland, who first advis'd the refusing of those Succours, supported his Opinion with these Reasons above-mention'd; those who were of another Mind, grounded themselves on these which follow: That the Thing was not only to be confider'd in it felf, but in the prefent Circumstances; that the Bufiness in hand was not barely opposing one Army against another, but to discover, Whether the Army that was to oppose the Enemy, did not confent with them for promoting of their Defigns? Whether the Officers that commanded them were any more above Corruption, than those in other Parts of the Government, who were faid to be debauch'd, and yet not known? From hence, those who discours'd after this manner, concluded, that if unfortunately the Corruption was got into the Army as well as into other Parts, the King, by refusing the foreign Succours, which, with what loyal Subjects would join him, might make up a confiderable Party, would be expos'd to all the Power of his Enemies without any Defence. Amidst this Variety of Opinions, the Prime Minister's Opinion, the King's Goodness to his Subjects, the Honour of the Nation, the Confidence he repos'd in the Commanders of his Forces, most of them Men of such Quality, as not to be thought to be spatter themselves with Treason, or else Persons loaded with his Favours, inclin'd the King to espouse that which the Event has disapprov'd, and made him refuse those Succours he might easily have receiv'd, the Fleets which might have oppos'd it not being as yet fit to put to Sea for Action.

French It was with much Concern that France heard the Recareful to folution taken in England; and it is not easy to express, preserve the how much our Court took to Heart the Danger of a King. King, who had been long belov'd there. Mr. Skelton was almost tir'd out with People stopping, questioning,

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and almost quarrelling with him, because their Advice was not follow'd. They would fain have him find out some Expedient to serve his Master in spite of his Miniflers, and they went fo far as to oblige him to propose a Method, which would have effectually fav'd him, had not the Court of England, still proceeding as it began, obstructed it. One Day, Monf. de Croiffy pressing the Envoy touching that Point, the latter, after answering, that he had no Orders, and durst not ask any Thing, added, that nevertheless he believ'd, that if his most Chrifian Majefty should declare to the States how much he espous'd the King his Master's Concerns, and threaten'd to attack them, in case they attempted any Thing against him, it would certainly give a full Stop to them, and so break all the Prince of Orange's Measures, without giving the English any Cause to complain, that the King had call'd any Strangers into their Country. That Minister approving of the Envoy's Proposal, he went to acquaint the King, who readily embracing all the Methods propos'd to him for affifting the King of England, tho' he drew the Storm upon himself, sent Orders to Monf. d' Avaux to declare to the United Provinces, that they could not attack a Prince so strictly ally'd to him, without obliging him to his Affistance. The Ambassador deliver'd himself in such Manner as put the States to a stand, when the News was brought to London, both of what Skelton had advis'd, and of the Declaration made by Mons. d' Avaux. The English Minister did not disown it, and still infishing on the Regard the King had for his Subjects, perswaded him to hold the fatal Resolution of receiving no Affiftance from any but them. Albyville had receiv'd Orders to require the Dutch to explain their Defigns in relation to the Fleet that was fitting out in their Harbours; all the Answer he receiv'd was, requiring him to defire the King to fatisfy them as to his Alliances with his Neighbours. Manner of proceeding feem'd to be a fufficient Motive for the Court of England to accept of the offer'd Diverion. But they alter'd not their Methods, and the Prime Minister stood to his Advice. The States were affur'd, That no particular Alliance was enter'd into with France, and Skelton was recall'd to be committed to the Tower, where he continu'd 18 Days.

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Thus

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thought of it, deliver'd up a mighty King into the The King Hands of his Enemies, and an Excels of Confidence relost by repos'd on Subjects who did not deserve it, depriv'd that petting it. Prince of the Succours he might have had elsewhere. Verace was supriz'd to hear it, when he came to Paris, where he was arriv'd in his Way to London; but, concluding that no Advantage could be made of his Information, he return'd home.

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Philips. The King of France fearing to make that Prince his burg, &c. Enemy, whom he intended to deliver from his own, taken. apply'd his Forces to prevent the Designs of the Ausburg League; and then the Dauphin made that fine Campaign of the Year 1688. when in less than two Months he took Philipsburg, Manheim, Frankendal, and other Places of Note, and made France a Barrier against the Germans, of their own Towns either destroy'd or preserv'd.

P. of O- In the mean while they prepar'd in England and Holrange's land, the latter to invade, the former to defend it felf. Declaration Both Sides provided Fleets, Armies, Cannon and Ammunition; and the Hopes of both Parties being grounded on the English, each us'd all possible Endeavours to gain them. To that purpose the Prince of Orange drew up a Declaration, containing three principal Heads.

The first was a Recapitulation of all the Grievances Head of it. of the English Nation, particularly of the Protestants, against their King, as to the dispensing Power; the preferring of Catholicks to Places of Trust, and to the Council Board; the Ecclesiastical Commission, the Business of the Bishops, and other Matters artfully put together and represented, to make an odious Connection of Facts, by which he endeavour'd to prove, That his Majesty had design'd to overthrow the Religion, the Laws, and the Liberty of the Nation.

The 2d.

The 2d declar'd, That English Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, having apply'd to the Prince of Orange, to defire his Assistance, in order to defend them against the threaten'd Evils; that Prince had the more readily comply'd with their Request, in regard that being the next Heir to the Crown of England, he was the more concern'd for the Laws and Religion of the Kingdom, the Succession to which was endeavour'd to be taken from him by a pretended Prince of Wales.

Under the Family of the Stuarts, &c.

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In the 3d, the said Prince of Orange alledging, that a 1688. Free Parliament was the only Remedy which could be apply'd to those Evils, and supposing that a Parliament The 3d. could never be free under a King who govern'd without any regard to the Laws, unless that Assembly were otherwise supported, made known his Resolution of passing over the Sea, with a sufficient Force, to support their Acts, exhorting all good English Men to joyn him for the bringing about so commendable a De-

fign. They were just upon sending this Declaration into The King's England, and another of the same Purport into Scotland, Condescenwhen they understood that its Affertions were false, at Jions. least in the most considerable Parts, from the Advances the King had made towards latisfying of the Protestants, and taking from them all Pretences to complain. Most of the Things done in Favour of the Catholicks had been made void, or suspended, till the Sitting of the Parliament, already summon'd, but put off on account of the Trouble occasion'd by the Dutch Enterprize. The Ecclefiastical Commission had been abolish'd, the Bishops were restor'd to Favour, and he of London to his Function. The Charters of London, and other Corporations, taken from them during the late King's Reign, had been reftor'd. All possible Assurance had been given the ensuing Parliament of its enjoying full Liberty. In a Word, nothing had been omitted that could be thought proper to remove Jealousies, and gain Affections; and, to conclude, the Time drawing near, when it was faid the Dutch resolv'd to put to Sea, a Proclamation had been fet forth, in which his Majesty giving Notice, That a foreign Power was preparing to invade the

Enemy.

The Prince of Orange being inform'd of these new Prince of Measures taken by the King, to break them all, added Orange's two Articles to his Declaration; the one was a Prote additional station, That he had no Design to invade the Kingdom, Declaration, but only to have a free Parliament, on such Footing as tion, might settle the Religion, and the Laws on such a Foundation as might not be shaken; the other was a disavowing of the Assurances the King gave the Parlia-

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Kingdom, exhorted his Subjects to lay a fide all former Jealoufies, and unite together against the Common

men

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ment of that same Liberty, exhorting all zealous English 1688. not to fuffer themselves to be deluded by them; and having fent over this Declaration into England to be there spread abroad, he bent his whole Thoughts up.

on fetting out.

Having taken leave of the States about the latter end He fails for England, of Officer, he fet fail with a favourable Wind to carry

him where he intended to land. His Fleet confifted of between 4 and 500 Sail, and his Land Forces were between 12 and 13000. With him went the English Men of Quality, who had already declar'd, the Chief where. of were, Charles Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, bred a Catholick, which was the Hereditary Religion of his Family from the Great Talbot down to him, who was the first that forfook it; Charles Gerard, Earl of Maccles. field; the Lord Mordant, Henry Sidney, and Vice-Ad. miral Herbert. The Mareschal de Schomberg, who departed France loaded with Favours and Honours, but discontented for having been remov'd upon the Affair of the Hugonots, had put himself into the Prince of Grange's Service, and went upon the Expedition. Herbert commanded the Van, Evertzen the Rear, and the Prince was in the Center. The Fleet carry'd white Colours, with the Arms of its Chief, and about them this Motto, For Religion and Liberty. It was all out at Sea, and standing its Course, when a Storm rising in the Night, blew so violent for 12 Hours together, that it was dispers'd, and oblig'd to put into Port again to come toge-The Damage receiv'd was confiderable, but foon repair'd; and the Wind coming fair, they fail'd again on the first of November. The Lord Daremouth, then the English Admiral, had put the King in Hopes, that he would stop the Enemy, but he never appear'd, and on the fifth the Prince landed his Forces at Lime, Torbay, and the adjacent Coasts, without any

He presently secur'd Exeter, in the County of Deven, and encamp'd about it, defigning to flay there till he could fee what Effect his coming would have upon the Country. It was not long before he found it confiderable. The King on the one Hand order'd down part of his Army to Salubury, intending to joyn it there with fuch Forces as he had kept to attend him; and on the

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other, the most forward of the Faction began to show themselves. The Lord Lovelace appear'd about Bristol, with some Men he had gather'd. The Lord Cornbury Combury was the first that show'd the King's Army was not deferts. free from Corruption. He pretending to beat up one of the Enemies Quarters towards Axminster, and having taken with him fuch a Number of the Forces from Salisbury, as was thought requifite for that Service, debauch'd a Part of them, which he led away to

This first Revolt surpriz'd the Court, and gave Cause to apprehend the Consequences. In order to prevent it, the King call'd together the Chief Officers that remain'd with him, of which Number were the Duke of Grafton, Trelawny, Kerk, and Churchill; and his Majefly appearing with a Franknels that might have mov'd any generous Souls, said, I have given Orders for calling TheKing's of a free Parliament, as soon as more settled Times will al- Speech to low of it. I am resolv'd to make as much Provision as my his Officers. Subjects can defire, for the Security of their Religion, their Liberty, and Franchises. Would you ask any more? I am ready to grant it. But if after this any Man be not satisfy'd, I desire him to declare it; and am ready to give all those who are not for staying with me sufficient Passes to go away to the Prince of Orange, and shall freely save them the Guilt of Treason.

These Words seem'd to have made some Impression; they all protested they were fatisfy'd and ready to spill their Blood in their Prince's Service. It is to be suppos'd that some meant as they said; but the Event show'd that Hearts corrupted are not to be gain'd. King, who was too apt to judge of other Men's Probity by his own, never imagining that Persons who were of a Profession that seeks after Honour, could for sake him, atter such Protestations, march'd with what Troops he had kept in his old Camp, and came to Salisbury. looner was he there, but Churchill, the Man who had Churchill receiv'd more Favours from him than any other in all England, and who had been always look'd upon as a fort of Favourite, laid a Plot to carry him away, and in all likelihood to deliver him up to the Prince of Orange.

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As Cornbury's deferting gave the King Occasion to apprehend its Consequences, so it made the Prince suspect they might not be confiderable enough. He had been able to prevail but on a very small Number of all that Party he attempted to debauch; all the rest returning to Salisbury, abhorring the Treachery they were like to have been drawn into. The generality of the Soldiers, and most of the Inferior Officers were of that Mind,

Lovelace On the other Hand, Lovelace, instead of drawing over taken. the County, where he rose in Arms, to joyn with the Faction, had been attack'd near Cirencester by the Militia, taken, and committed, through the Duke of Beaufort's Care. On the other Side Gifford and Sarsfield

The King had defeated a Party of the Prince of Orange's. to be feiz'd. was the Posture of Affairs, when the Faction apprehending they had not taken their Measures right, refolv'd, in order to cut short, to seize the King. Churchill being pitch'd upon to put that Defign in Execution, cunpingly perswaded the King to go take a View of his advanc'd Guards, being the Part of his Army nearest the Enemy. His Majesty was going into his Coach, when a fudden Bleeding at the Nose oblig'd him to put it off to another Time. Before the Day was over he was inform'd from good Hands, that he was to have been carry'd off, and the Plot was laid to carry him to Exeter, had not Heaven, which provided for the Preservation of his Person, in order to make a longer Trial of his Patience, happily prevented the Defign. However Churchill went off to the Prince of Orange, with

what Men he could carry over to him.

That Accident made his Majesty alter his Resolution, and think of marching his Army back towards London, to secure the Capital, and put a Stop to the Defection, the nearness of Exeter being a great Temptation to Defertion, those that were not fincere. By the Way his Majesty understood, that he was betray'd by all the Prime Men in his Army, whom he had least mistrusted; the Prince of Denmark, his 2d Son-in-law, the Duke of Ormond, and many others leaving him by the Way, to make for Exster, and the Duke of Grafton being gone from Salif-This startled the Forces, and some of them began to disperse. The King being come to London, thought he could do no better, than to call together fuch Persons

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of Quality as had not yet declar'd, to confult with them about the Means of putting a Stop to the Evils that threat'ned the State. As foon as he had acquainted that Affembly with the Occasion that mov'd him to ask their Advice, he perceiv'd that part of them were either gain'd, or deluded by the adverse Faction. Among the rest, the Earl of Clarendon express'd himself so haughtily about the King's pretended Faults, as made it appear, which foon after hap'ned, that he would foon go meet the Prince of Orange. However the greater Part of the Company feem'd to be of those, who were only for obliging the King to call a Parliament, wherein his Authority might be circumscrib'd to those Bounds they should please to impose. They again demanded the calling of it, and advis'd that in the mean while, the King should send some Lords, to propose to the Prince fome Accommodation, and defire him to forbear marching towards London, as he was then doing, till they

were come to fome Agreement.

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The King's Condition was fuch, that he could refuse Insurreffino Means for putting a Stop to a Revolution, which o.s. then seem'd unavoidable. Besides the Desertion of the Officers in the Army, he hourly heard of new Infurrections in several Counties. The Earls of Bath, Manchester, Northampton, and Abingdon; the Lords Delamere, Grey, Lumley, and many others had fecur'd feveral Pofts, and declar'd openly for the Prince of Orange. Even the Lord Dartmouth, Admiral of the Fleet, had been found faultering. His Majesty had sent the Prince of Wales to Portsmouth, in order to have him convey'd into France; the Marquis of Powis conducted him thither, and spar'd no Pains to ingage Dartmouth to serve the King upon such an effential Occasion; but that Admiral excus'd himself after such a manner, as confirm'd the Jealouly conceiv'd of him ever fince he suffer'd the Dutch Fleet to pass by without fighting. The People of London were in a continual Agitation. The Catholicks were every where plunder'd, insulted, and abus'd. The Courts began to proceed against them. The Earls of Salisbury, Peterborough, and Sunderland, tho' the King being fenfible that he had been ill ferv'd by the latter, had remov'd him from Court, and publick Bufinels, had been summon'd to appear. The Princess of

Denmark, the King's Daughter, had withdrawn her felf. foon after her Husband. In this Diffres, the King, tho' A Parlia- convinc'd, that a Free Parliament would not be fo to ment sum-him, however resolv'd to call it, to try this last Expedient towards faving some Remains of his Shipwreck, and isfu'd the Writs for its meeting on the 15th of Ja-At the same time he deputed the Lords Hallifax, Nottingham and Godolphin to the Prince of Orange, to let him know he should have Satisfaction; that there should be a Free Parliament, wherein the Grievances the Nation had complain'd of to him, should be examin'd, and fully redress'd. The Deputies were order'd to defire him to delay his March, that the Parliament might be left to the Liberty he was come to procure it. Besides, that nothing might be omitted, which could contribute towards a Peace, his Majesty had impower'd them to treat of an Accommodation, on such Terms as should be thought most agreeable to the present Posture

> No thinking Man ever believ'd the Prince of Orange fo fond of the English, as that he would secure their Liberties at so great an Expence and Trouble, whereas it was more his Interest to overthrow them, being the

of Affairs, and the publick Tranquility.

* In right next Heir to the Crown after the Prince of Wales *. The of his Wife. Reception he gave that Prince's Deputies convinc'd fuch as had least in them of Suspicion, that his Defigns lay quite another Way. He not liking the calling of a Parliament, which he forefaw would indeed be ty'd up by fuch Laws as would crush him, but which at the same time he fear'd would secure him on the Throne, when the Protestants had no more to fear from him, held on his March, and gave no Answer to the Deputies fent to him, till he was near enough to London to awe those who were not wholly come into his Defign. There he spoke so haughtily, and offer'd his Majesty such intolerable Terms; that the Monarch, being also privately inform'd by one of his three Deputies, that there was no Security for his Person in any Part of the Kingdom, thought fit to give way to the Iniquity of the Times, and go feek a Sanctuary in the Arms of that same Friend, whose Assistance he had refus'd.

Refore he provided for himself, the King took care of the Queen, and Prince of Wales. Dartmenth refusing

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to carry him over into France, he had been brought back to London. On the Night between the 9th and 10th of December, the Count de Lanzun, fince Duke, The Queen being then at the Court of England, contriv'd with the and Prince King, how the Queen and Prince should make their escape into Escape, and was successful in his Undertaking, being France. one of the most fortunate Adventures of his Life. Riva, an Italian belonging to her Majesty; Labadie, a Frenchman, Servant to the King, Persons of try'd Fidelity, were order'd to furnish all Necessaries for the Passage. and find Means to go from Whitehall to the Veffel. was not without much Danger of being stop'd and difcover'd, that a Queen and a Prince but five Months of Age could get out of their Palace, at a time when the Infant's crying might have broken the best Measures that could be taken. They difguis'd themselves, and got down Back-stairs, and By-ways, cross'd the River, and went from London to Gravesend, where Labadie had hir'd the Vessel that was to carry the Royal Family into France, the Prince never crying all the while. They were several times in danger of being stop'd by Watches and Guards, who suspected all they did not know to be Catholicks making their Escape, and look'd upon all they would carry off as free Booty. On the Thames they had Rain, Wind, and rough Water, amidst the Dread of a Night fo dark, that they could not fee one another. The Queen on the other fide of the River waited in the Rain under the Church Wall, for a Coach that was making ready. The Curiofity of a Man that came out of the Inn with a Light, gave cause to apprehend lest her Majesty might be discover'd. He was making up towards the Place where she stood, when Riva perceiving it, follow'd and jostled him, so that they both fell in the Mire. This was a happy Diversion, for the Man believing it had been an accidental Jostle, they both made their Excuses, and so the Matter ended. They got into the Coach; and to the Veffel, where Labadie's Wife, who knew the Commander, showing her felf first, kept him in Discourse, till the Queen, who pals'd for an Italian Lady, that was going into her own Country with her Family, went into the Cabin provided for her, with the Nurse, who carry'd the Prince. The Duke and Dutchess of Powers, Governess to the little

little Prince, the Counteffes Dalmon and Montecuculis with others of their Retinue, imbark'dat the same time. with a Irifo Captains, fent purposely by the King to observe the Commander of the Vessel, in case upon any Discovery he should fail in his Duty. There happen'd to be no need of that Precaution. The Vessel hoisting Sail, had a happy Paffage, and arriv'd fafe at Calais, The Oucen would have expected the King there, he, according to the Agreement made between them, being to follow the next Day; but he not appearing, she proceeded to Boulogn, where two Religious Men and an Officer, who had made their Escape out of England, told her fuch News as put her Courage upon a Trial,

taken at Feverfham.

The King which only God could support. They told her, that his Majesty, having got away successfully from White. ball, and the City, and all the way to the Sea, had im. bark'd in order to follow her; but that the Veffel being ill ballafted, he had been oblig'd to go ashore again, to take in more Ballast, where he was known, and detain'd near Feversham. This was all they knew, and fo the Queen was left miserably dubious about the King her Husband's Fate, till being at Montreuil, she receiv'd other News, which comforted and brought her into a more sedate Temper of Mind to admit of the noble Reception she had from his most Christian Majesty; that Prince sparing for nothing that he thought might alleviate her Misfortunes.

Returns to The King of England having been stop'd, as was faid London. above, Advice of it was fent to London. The Lords were met there upon the Report of his Escape, and understanding that before his Departure he had cancell'd the Writs for calling the Parliament they defir'd, they publish'd an Order, wherein they openly declar'd for the Prince of Orange, still supposing him to be come to call a Free Parliament, and by that means to fecure their Religion and Liberties. Four Deputies of theirs were gone to the Prince of Orange, when the News came of the King's being taken up; whereupon the Lords meeting, sent the Earl of Feversham, with his Coaches and Guards, to bring him back to Landon. He was receiv'd there by the Multitude with such Shouts, Acclamations, and Expressions of Affection, as can scarce be express'd. That was a Day of Triumph

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for him; no Man remember'd he had ever feen the like. 1688; Ringing of Bells, Bonfires, and all things us'd on the

The Prince of Orange, who was no Stranger to the The P. of Humour of the Country, had foreseen what would hap-Orange pen, and endeavour'd to prevent it. He had sent Zule-would steyn, a Gentleman of his Retinue, to Feversham with a have ob-

Letter, wherein he desir'd the King, but in such affraded it haughty Strain as look'd like a Master's Order, not to return nearer to London than Rochester. I know not by what Accident that Letter was not deliver'd to the King till he was at London, which vex'd the Prince of Orange. The King sending the Earl of Feversbam to Windfor, where he had halted, to invite him to take up his Quarters at the Palace of St. James's in London, allowing him to be there with his own Dutch Guards, to the End they might have a personal Treaty, and amicably adjust the Means for fatisfying all the Ends of his Declaration; the Prince by his Usage towards the King's Messenger, made it appear, that his Ends and those of his Declaration were not the same; for under colour of the Earl's having disbanded the King's Army, tho' it was done by positive Orders, he arrested, and did not discharge him till there was no more Danger of a Treaty; and at the same time sent 2000 of his Men to London, who having drove away the King's Guards, fecur'd all the Gates and Avenues to Whiteball. Nor did he

all the Gates and Avenues to Whiteball. Nor did he flop there; but the next Morning, before the King was Turns the awake, fent the Lords Hallifax, Delamere, and Shrewsbury, King out to acquaint him, that being himself ready to come to of White-London, it was not thought fit they should be both there hall.

together, and therefore he might chuse either Hampton-

The King being more fully convinc'd than ever, that His Mathere was no Safety for him in England, at a time when jefty goes his own Subjects durst presume to bring him such Or-to Rocheders from his Enemy, and holding his Resolution to go stere over to his Family in France, desir'd to go to Rochester instead of Ham or Hampton-Court, that had been propos'd to him. The Prince of Orange saw into his Design, and having consider'd of it, concluded it was advantageous to his own, for it would cut short, and save him much Trouble, which could not be avoided without

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laid such a Blemish on his Name, as the Crown could never wipe off. This is supposed to be the Motive that prevailed with him to permit the King his Father-in-law to go to Rochester, and when there, to be guarded after such a manner, as has satisfyed all the World, he was well enough pleased he should make his Escape, as he well enough pleased he should make his Escape.

Meapes in-did. The King being negligently guarded, slipt through to France. a Garden, that had a Door to the Thames. Having provided a Vessel to be ready there, he went aboard, and setting Sail with the Duke of Berwick, arriv'd at Amble tense, in the Beginning of January, 1689. and proceeded then to St. Germain to the Queen, where his most Christian Majesty receiv'd him with the greater Joy, as having been much in Pain for the Danger he was in.

The English being incens'd at the late Behaviour of Distress of the Catholicks, made them the first on whom they vent the Catho-ed their Resentment after his Majesty's Escape. The licks. People of London began by plundering their Houses, burning their Chapels, and insulting them several ways; and in that Tumult they spar'd not the Spanish Ambassador, tho' so much a Friend to the prevailing Faction,

Both of but was the first they fell upon. There is no expressing them were the Outrages they committed in that Minister's House; well re- his Furniture, his Library, his Plate, his Houshold-stuff coppens'd. was all taken away, or burnt. The Envoy from the Great

Duke of Tuscany underwent the same Fate. The Natives of the Kingdom were worse us'd than Foreigners; they were by publick Authority commanded to depart London, and fuch Persons of Quality as could not follow their King into France, were committed to Goal. Earls of Salisbury, Caftlemain, and Peterborough, the Lord Montgomery, and many more, lay in Prison a long time, and were at last enlarg'd upon such Terms, as have prevail'd with some to prefer the voluntary Banishment they still live in before returning to their Country, where fuch as still remain have the Mortification of feeing their Estates bear the Charge of the War against their lawful Sovereign. The Earl of Sunderland withdrew into Holland, where returning to the Religion he had folemnly abjur'd, he confirm'd the scandalous Reports that had render'd his Loyalty suspected. Protestants that continu'd firm to the King shar'd in the

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Persecution. The Lord Chancellor Jeffereys was com- 1685 mitted to the Tower, and dy'd there; his Majesty conferr'd that Honour on the Lord Chief Juffice Herbert, Brother to the Admiral, who fill holds it at St. Germain, Dead fines with less Bufiness than his Predecessor. The Earl of the Author Middleton, Secretary of State, having been as firm to writ. his Duty, had the fame Fate.

The Prince of Orange, who always watch'd all favou- The P. of rable Conjunctures, took this of the aforefaid Commo- Orange tions to make his Entry into London. He was receiv'd comes to with all those Acclamations, and Expressions of Joy, London. which are there usual to the last Comer. All Societies congratulated him upon the Success of his Enterprize. and thank'd him for the Zeal he had express'd for the Nation. The Lords met, and address'd him to take upon him the Government, till the Three Estates could be affembled, not as a Parliament, which can only be done by the King; but by the Name of a Convention, which was fix'd for the beginning of Febru-

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The House of Commons having long carry'd the The Con-Sway in all matters of Government, the Faction, which vention. hadrefolv'd to place the Prince of Grange on the Throne, took care in the first Place to have as many Members as hey could, return'd, that were favourable to their Defigns, and next to bring over those that were not of their own Appointment; and they were but too fuecefsful. The Convention being met, it was not long before thele Questions were put : Whether a Catholick King were not incapable of wearing the Crown? Whether King James the Second had not by his Male Administration, and his withdrawing out of the Kingdom, broken he Original Compact there is between Sovereigns and heir Subjects? And whether his Withdrawing was not a Defertion, or Abdication? Such of the Lords as full retain'd fome Affection for the Monarchy, and forelaw the Consequence of those Questions in a Government, whole main Bafis is the Hereditary Succession, vere amaz'd to hear them, perceiv'd their Error, and everal of them did what they could to retrieve it. Their Party was at first considerable enough, to obstruct their own House's consenting to the Resolutions of the Commons upon all those Articles, which were there carry'd:

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by Plurality of Votes, to the King's Disadvantage, They were for some Time canvass'd and controverted among the Peers; upon those Arguments some of them alledg'd for the better Side. They represented, it must about the feem strange to all Nations in the World, to declare, that a Catholick King was incapable of weilding a Scep. ter, which had from the Days of Egbert to Queen Elizabeth been sway'd by Forty Catholick Kings; that it was not long fince all England had by positive Addresses disclaim'd that Principle; that both the Universities had condemn'd it as Erroneous; that the Parliament of 1685 had judg'd it so pernicious to the Publick, that it offer'd to put a Mark of Infamy on all those who had been for excluding the Duke of York from the Throne; that all the Nation having own'd that Prince, even at a Time when he publickly profess'd himself a Catholick, it would be a ridiculous Incongruity, to pretend that Religion was an Obstacle to Reigning; that, as to the pretended Compact between the Sovereign and the Pea. ple, it was a pernicious Chimera, often condemn'd, as opening a Gap for all Seditious Persons to raise Troubles; that they could not give the Name of Defertion, or Abdication to the Withdrawing of a King, who was diffatisfy'd with, and abandon'd by his Subjects to the Mercy of a Foreign Nation, his Royal Character expos'd to be insulted by the Multitude, and himself in the Hands of a Prince, who gave Laws to him, feiz'd him in his own Dominions, and of whom he was told fuch Things as gave him cause to fear the worst; that the Offers several Times made by his Majesty to the Nation, and the Prince that protected it, for treating with them, and giving full Redress to all their Grievances, were sufficient Amends for the Faults laid to his Charge; that feveral Letters he had actually writ from St. Germain, to the Two Houses of the Convention, and to private Persons; his Protestations against the Proceedings of that Assembly, and the Methods he took for recovering of his Dominions, were Proofs that he had not abdicated; and if he had deferted, it was only the Country, where he thought not his Person in Safety, and not the Throne, which he still look'd upon as his own; that he was not the first King of England, who had done fo; for during the Reign of the Saxons, Ethelred fled into into Normandy, and among the Plantaganets, Edward 168\$ the Fourth went over into Flanders, and yet Henry the Sixth, his Competitor, did not think he had thereby gain'd any new Right to the Crown; that in the Circumstances King James the Second had been reduc'd to. the Case of Kings must be very hard, if they alone among all Men might not be allow'd to shun Danger, which is only to be avoided by Flight; that when a Man fees his House a fire, and cannot quenchit, he goes away, and faves himfelf that he may re-build that which cannot be fav de

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These and such like Reasons, either deliver'd by Word of Mouth, or in Writing, kept the House of Lords some Days up against the Resolutions of the Commons, and sometimes the Plurality in it prevail'd for the better Side ; but the Faction labouring indefatigably to gain Votes, the Plurality infenfibly came over to the other Party, and the Controverted Points Throne dewere at last carry'd against the King. The Throne clar'd vawas declar'd Vacant of said hard a mind

That Point being gain'd, the next Question was a Conveybout the Form of Government. A Commonwealth, a ance of the Regency, and the Continuation of Monarchy in another Crown. Perion, were all propos'd. A Commonwealth was only favour'd by some in private; the Regency had enough to espouse it openly; but Kingly Government was concluded on, and it was naturally to be transferr'd to the Prince of Orange. They were at some Trouble to decide by what Title he should claim the Possession. That of Election was degrading an Hereditary Crown; That of Conquest incompatible with the Liberties of the Nation. Succession could not take Place fince the Birth of the Prince of Wales; but no mention was made of him, and the Princels of Orange suppose'd Heirels to the Crown. It was refolv'd to beflow the Title of King on the Prince her Husband, and still proceeding contrary to all the Rules of Hereditary Monarchies, it was declar'd, that in Case he surviv'd his Wife, he should continue King in wrong to the Princels of Denmark, who was Heiress to her Sister; and in Case that Princess hap'ned to die without Iffue, the Crown should revert to the Prince's, if he had any.

These Resolutions being pass'd, the Convention drew Votes of up Articles to fecure the Nation against those Grievan-the Conces, ventione

1688.

ces, which had been a Pretence for the Revolt. Among other Things it was declar'd, that the Power of dispenfing with Laws, and suspending the Execution of them, was an Abuse, and Megal, unless those Dispensations and Suspensions were authoriz'd by Parliament: that extraordinary Commissions, like that granted by the King in the late Reign for Ecclefiaffical Affairs, were contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom, and destructive to the Liberty of the People; that it was not lawful for the King to raise or maintain an Army in Time of Peace, without the Consent of Parliament; that all Sums of Money rais'd without Consent of the Parliament, should be adjudg'd Illegal; that the Corporations which had a Right of fending Representatives to the Parliament, should be left to their full Liberty to chuse such as they thought fit, and those Representatives should have entire Freedom to speak, to give their Opinions and Vote as they judg'd for the Publick Good schat all Subjects might make their Complaints to the King, and address him; that it should not be in the King's Power to pardon fuch as should be impeached in Parliament, which alone had Right definitively either to condemn, or clear them; that no Prince, or Prince sof the Blood Royal Thould marry a Catholiek; that for the Security of these Articles, and many others expressed in that Act, a Parliament should be call'dat least every three Years. Thefe Terms feem'd hard to a Prince, who had Sense enough to foresee all the Consequences of them; and he is faid to have been furpriz'd at them; but after all, he perceiv'd, he should foon be in a Condition to observe no more of them than he thought fit. Besides that, to make the leffening of the Regal Authority go down the better with him, instead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, which contain'd an Engagement of Fidelity to the King, and were therefore abolish'd, they substituted another of Fidelity to the Prince and Princels of

Prince and Orange. After which, the Prince's being come out of Prince's of Holland, they were both proclaim'd, and the Conventiorange on being chang'd into a Parliament, Preparations were proclaim'd, made to Crown them, which Ceremony was perform'd on the 11th of April. The Archbishop of Canterbury potentials of the new Oath, which only the Bilhop of St. Afaph, of the Seven that had the Contest above-mention'd with

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their Relig It v of Eng more i bear A James on had tual F the Pr their 1 ample Scots t them They which declar late A wards the Pr omitte that th troubl they h feiz'd lor, E lick as and Z dale an cellor, more the King, ever took, the others chufing rather to lofe 1680. their Benefices, which were actually taken from them. No Catholick would take it, and even many Protestants held out a long Time, among whom were the Earls of Clarendon, of Exeter, of Litebfield, and of Yarmouth, who tho' they flaid in England, held their Resolution. The Prince did not come to Extremities with any Person on that Account, and was fatisfy'd with obliging all Catholicks and Nonjurors to pay double Taxes, which gives them an Opportunity fince they cannot expose their Lives, at least to facrifice their Estates for their Religion, and their King.

It was not long before Scotland follow'd the Example Proceeof England. It is true the Revolt there grew to a Head dings in more flowly, and the King found more there that would Scotland. bear Arms for him. They could fcarce forget that King James the 2d was that Duke of York to whom the Nation had made so many voluntary Protestations of perpetual Fidelity. The Prince of Orange's Enterprise, and the Practices of the English, feem'd at first only to move their Horror and Indignation; but at length the ill Example, and Courtship of England, communicated to the Scots the Disposition of their Neighbours, and ingag'd them to run with the Stream they might have stopp'd. They follow'd the same steps, calling a Convention, which they afterwards chang'd into a Parliament. They declar'd the Throne Vacant, and fent the Son to the late Argyle, Dalrumple, and that Montgomery who afterwards went away to the King, to offer the Grown to the Prince of Orange. They invented a new Oath, and omitted nothing that might conduce to make it appear that they had outdone the English. They found it more troublesome than the others had done to put the Prince they had chosen into a peaceable Possession. They had leiz'd and imprison'd the Earl of Perth, Lord Chancellor, Elder Brother to the Earl of Melfort, and a Catholick as well as he, being a Man to be fear'd for his Virtue and Zeal for the King's Service. The Earl of Landerdale and many more had the same Measure as the Chancellor, being confin'd, and not enlarg'd till there was no more Cause to fear them, and they made use of their Liberty to embrace Banishment. Notwithstanding all this, there were brave Men enough that escap'd being imprison'd, to disturb the Rebels, and have put a Stop

The History of the Revolutions in England. 324

1689. to the Revolution, had they been ever so little suppor. ted from abroad. The Duke of Gordon held out a Gordon, tedious Siege in the strong Castle of Edinburgh. The Dundee, Vice-Count Dundee, the Earl of Dunferlin, the Lord Dunkel, Canon, and other Montroffes of that Time, kept the Field long with the loyal Highlanders, the constant Refuge of the Kings, in Times of Rebellion. The Cou. rage, Conduct, and indefatigable Activity of those Men, warm'd with that Zeal which Virtue and Duty inspire. never yielded till reduc'd to Extremity, when the great Hopes Ireland had given that all might be recover'd, vanishing, they lott all Expectation of Relief.

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Ireland was the foundest Part of the King of England's Dominions, that had been corrupted by the Commotions. The Irifo being for the most part Catholicks, the Earl of Tyrconnel, who was so too, found it easy to keep most of the Island Dutiful to its lawful Sovereign. The Capital gave the Example, which was follow'd by the most considerable Places on both Seas, and to the Southward; the infurrection being confin'd to the North, and its Head Quarter at London Derry. It being known, that the English earnestly press'd the Prince of Orange to fend confiderable Supplies into Ireland, the King's Prefence there was thought necessary to prevent them, and it was concluded, that the Country abounding in good Soldiers, the Honour of fighting in the Presence, and under the Command of their Monarch, would as foon as he should appear gather a sufficient Number to make him Master of the Posts posses'd by the Rebels, before The King they could be reliev'd. He went over, and came to Dub lin about Easter, attended by the Earl of Tyrconnel, who had met him at Cork, where that Prince created him a Duke. It was thought convenient that his Majesty, making his Advantage of those first impulses of Zeal which his Presence had rais'd in the Iris of his own Communion, should immediately go show himself in the North. He did so, and his March struck a Terror into the Rebels, who abandon'd Colerain, and Kilmon made little Opposition. He proceeded to Londonderry, and summon'd it; but one Walker, a Parson, who had made himself Governor, appear'd so resolv'd to defend it to the last Extremity, that the King being in hasteto raile Forces to oppole the English Army, then preparing to pals the Sea against him, was oblig'd to return

there.

Under the Family of the Stuarts, &c.

to Dublin, after giving Orders for the Siege of London-

He wanted not Soldiers; but those Soldiers wanted Ill State of most Things necessary for carrying on the War, except Ireland. Courage and Good-will. Arms, Ammunition and Money were all very scarce in a Country, which the prevailing Nation has been so long draining. There were but few Officers that truly understood the Trade of War, and it is reasonable to think it requir'd more Time than they could promife themselves, to discipline new-rais'd Men. The King made the best Amends he could for fo many Wants. He had brought over with him out of France, Rose, Maumon, Pusman, Lery, Boiseleau, and some other brave and experienc'd Officers, given him by his most Christian Majesty. Among his own he might reckon upon the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Berwick, the Grand Prior, Maxwel, Sheldon, Wachop, Southerland, Dorington, Sarfield, and the Hamiltons. He had carry'd over with him some Arms, some Ammunition, and some Money. The Siege of Londonderry had oblig'd him to leave part of all those things there; but the Marquis de Chate in-Regnauld having brought him a fresh Convoy, after repulsing Herbert, who attack'd him by the Way, he at last made up a little Army, whose Eagerness to ingage seem'd to make amends for their Want of Arms. The Summer was spent in thefe Preparations, during the which some other Troops abroad under several Commanders, had various Success that was nothing decifive. All Mens Eyes were upon Londonthe Success of Londonderry, closely a tack'd, but reso-derry re-

reduc'd to Extremity; tho' Maumon, Pusignan, and many other brave Men had been kill'd. It being well known that Major Kirk was to bring them Relief, the Entrance into the Port had been stop'd up with great Chains made fast to Stakes. The Besieged were in want of all things, and reduc'd to a Necessity of capitulating, when Kirk broke the Chain, and having opportunely reliev'd the Place, oblig'd the Besiegers, who had loft abundance of Men, and spent all they had at the Siege, to draw off without doing any other good, besides making the Enemy the weaker by 5 or 6000 Men they are said to have lost, either by the Sword or

lutely defended by Walker and his Garrison. They were liev'd.

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1689. Schomberg in Ireland.

The Arrival of an English Army under the Command of the Mareschal de Schomberg made the King leave Dub. lin to oppose him. The Mareschal having landed his Troops in the County of Down, was there join'd by Kirk's, who after securing some Places in the North, came and encamp'd with him at Dundalk. The King advanc'd to Drogbeda, and offer'd Battel, which the Mareschal refus'd. The Armies lay a long time encamp'd almost in fight of one another, and yet the King could never draw the Enemy to a Battel. The Marel. chal loft more Men than he would have done in two En. gagements, by Sickness, which rag'd among his Forces as foon as landed. During the rest of the Summer that he continu'd intrenching, and part of the Winter when he took up his Quarters in fuch Places as were least ex. pos'd, above 12000 of his Men dy'd. The King not be. ing able to force him, feiz'd his Post, when he left it, and having fortify'd it, retir'd to Dublin.

1690. K. William in Ireland.

The Winter was spent in Preparations, which the Posture of Affairs in Europe render'd extraordinary unequal. The Prince of Orange being still press'd by the Parliament of England to succour the Protestants in Ireland, resolv'd to go over in Person, as he did the sol-Towing Summer 1690, and joining Mareschal Schombers, march'd with 45000 Men and 60 Pieces of heavy Cannon towards Dublin, to meet the King. His Majesty had receiv'd some more Arms from France, besides a Supply of 5000 of the most Christian King's Forces, commanded by the Count de Lauzun, and among other General Officers, the Marquis de la Hoguette, taken away fince by an honourable Death in Piedmont. this Reinforcement, which could not be greater because of the League of the whole Empire, England, Spain, the United Provinces, and the Duke of Savoy against France; the King of Great Britain's Army could not be much above 20000 Men, many of them half arm'd, and without any Artillery but 12 Field Pieces carry'd out of The King being in this Condition, concluded, that unless one of those Victories wherein the Justice of the Cause and Valour makes amends for want of Numbers, did bring him off, he should be hard drove; and if he retir'd, his Men lofing much of that Courage, which made them to eager to fight, he should lose the Country, without having made any Attempt to fave it.

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This Confideration made him resolve to go meet the Prince, to expect him at the Boyne, and fight him in paffing it. That Prince was foon there with all his For Fight at ces, and his 60 Pieces of Cannon, and the Battel was the Boyne. fought on the first of July, taking its Name from that River. The Success was such as could be expected from the Inequality of the Forces. It might not have been impossible for it to have succeeded better for the King that loft it, notwithstanding all the Inequality, had his Orders been obey'd, had some Troops that pass'd over a Ford at a distance on the Left, been attack'd as foon as he commanded it, whilft part of his Guards and Dragoons disputed the Passage of a near Ford with the Mareschaf Schomberg, who was there kill'd, and whilst his Right Wing stood his Enemies Charge. They were too flow on the Left, and too hotly attack'd on the Right by the Cannon and superior Numbers. The Right Wing was broken and routed, notwithstanding the Bravery of the Duke of Berwick, fo well known upon several other Occasions, of the Chevalier de Hocquincourt, who died there, and of Richard Hamilton taken Prisoner.

Then the Count de Lauzun coming up to the King, The Rout. show'd him he was like to be hemm'd in, and could look for nothing but a good Retreat, desiring he would leave that Care to him, and so many brave Officers, who would omit nothing that might conduce to it. The Advice was too reasonable not to be follow'd by a Prince, who was neither of an Age, nor of a Disposition to end his Days in Despair. The King submitting to his Fate, or to speak as his Majesty thinks, submitting to the Decrees of Providence, took Sarssield's Regiment, and retir'd to Dublin, whilst the Count, the French, Sheldon, and other Officers, contriv'd to make a Retreat, which they did by the Enemies Confusion, in good Order, and

very honourably.

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Both Parties blam'd one another for not making an Advantage, the one of their Victory, the other of their Retreat. Those who write for the Prince of Orange, condemn the King for leaving Ireland too soon, and those that staid behind for having ill brought together the Remains of a Rout, wherein they had loss but few Men, the Number of the Slain, according to them that say most, not being above 1500. Those on King James's Side charge the Prince with not pursuing his Victory,

W

1690.

Battel of

Aghrim.

with coming late to Dublin, an open Place without any Defence, and with giving the King's Forces Time to rally at Limerick, Galway, and other Places strong enough to hold out a confiderable Time, which occasion'd the War to be protracted, after the King was gone, he having left Dublin immediately atterhis coming thither, in order to withdraw into France; that the Prince of Orange had been oblig'd to raise the Siege of Limerick with great Lofs on his Side, and much Honour to the Royalists, and particularly to Mons. de Boiseleau, and to return into England without finishing his Conquest, which he had been disappointed of, had not St. Ruth, in the Battel he fought near Athlone, in the Year 1691. with the English commanded by Ginkle, been kill'd by a Cannon Ball, after he had broke all the Enemies Foot, and as he was actually giving Orders for pursuing that Beginning of Victory, which was stop'd by his Death, and given to his Enemy; that the fecond Siege of Limerick, sustain'd with so much Reputation, and concluding by one of the finest Capitulations that ever was feen, might have been a Means for retrieving the Royal Party, had Ireland lain so conveniently to be reliev'd by France, then 'attack'd by all Europe, as it was to be invaded by England, for which so many Nations were fighting. Those who know the Defign that mov'd the King to make fuch hafte out of Ireland, might add to all this, that he had thought of a Diversion, which would have fet the Prince of Orange hard, had not one only Circumstance whereon it depended disappointed it.

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But it was King James the 2d's Fate, not to sacrifice his Crowns by halves to his Religion, till he has sulfill'd the Time of his Trial. It was for the Advantage of that Religion, that the Professors of it should have such an Example before their Eyes; it was for the Honour of the King under whom I write this History, to add to those Titles which have given him the Name of the Great, that of supporting so good a Cause alone, and make the Justice of it known by the winning of seven pitch'd Battels, by the Conquest of several Provinces, and the strongest Places in the World reduc'd under his Empire, notwithstanding all the Efforts of so many Potentates gather'd together against the Lord and against his

Chrift.

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The ROYAL FAMILY of the STUARTS Vindicated from the false Imputation of Illegitimacy, &c.

T is a receiv'd Christian Principle, that to expose the Faults or Defects of our Neighbour, which were secret before, tho' they be true, is an irreligious and criminal Practice, as rendring those Perfons so expos'd either infamous or contemptible, whole Reputation had till then stood fair in the Eyes of the If the revealing of fuch Truths be an Offence in the Sight of God, and all good Men, what Excuse can there be for flandering and reproaching of others. upon Surmises, flying Reports, and Uncertainties? This must furely be a great Aggravation of the Offence. But when Malice and Defign are the Motives inducing to rob Men of their Honour and Esteem, without any regard to Truth, or previous Examination of the Matter, this is allow'd one of the vilest and most heinous Crimes that corrupt human Nature can be guilty of; far exceeding Robbery, or even Murder it self, in as much as a good Name is more valuable than all worldly Goods, or this mortal Life. For tho' Ecclesiasticus be not allow'd Canonical Scripture, it is printed in the Bibles, and allow'd to be read in Churches, and there, chap. 41. v. 12, & 13. we have these Words: Have regard to thy Name; for that shall continue with thee above a thousand Treasures of Gold. A good Life hath but a few Days ;

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Days; but a good Name endureth for ever. And Solomon in the Proverbs, which are not Apocryphal, c. 22. v. 1. fays, A good Name is rather to be chosen than great Riches. And Eccles. 7. 1. A good Name is better than precious Ointment. It were endless to quote profane Authorities, and no less superfluous, in a Case so universally allow'd, that even those whom their profligate Courses have render'd incapable of Reputation, will stand up

for it when call'd in question.

There is another Confideration in this Particular, which is the Dignity of the Person dishonour'd, and the greater that is, the more unpardonable must be the Wrong offer'd; for those whom Providence has rais'd to a superior Rank, require a higher Degree of untainted Fame to support them in the Esteem of their Inferiors, and the good Opinion of their Equals. Thus it appears, that to flander and defame Kings and Princes, to whom the Government of Kingdoms and Nations is committed, must be, if not in the Letter of the Law, yet in Conscience and Reason, the worst of Treasons; for the readiest way to dethrone and destroy a Monarch, is to blacken and vilify him, that fo by degrees the Reverence due to him may be turn'd into Contempt, the Love into Hatred, and the Obedience into Contradiction; and then is he easily pulled down from his Throne, the Crown drops from his Head, and when that is off, the Head is easily lop'd from his Shoulders. In order to this, what Method can be found more effectual in an Hereditary Monarchy than at once to bastardize the whole Royal Line, which is undermining the very Foundation on which the Throne is fettled, and that done, there needs only knocking down the Prop's to let it fink, and fetting Fire to the Train to blow it out of the Nation. No Royal Race has had so many of its Members cruelly murder'd, or been so outragiously revil'd, affronted and bespatter'd, as that of the Stuarts. Since its Exaltation to Sovereignty, which was in the Year 1371, and but 339 Years past, there have been no less than five crown'd Heads of them cruelly and unjustly destroy'd. King James the First murder'd at Perth, An. 1436. by the Contrivance of the Earl of Athol; King James the 3d, An. 1485. by the Rebels at Bannokburn; Henry Stuars, Lord Darnley, proclaim'd King of Scotland, and marry'd to Queen Mary, foon

foon after murder'd at Edinburgh, An. 1567. Queen Mary of Scots, no more justly made away in England, and King Charles the First, inhumanly butcher'd before his own Palace. To rip up the Calumnies heap'd upon this same Family, since its first Accession to the Throne, were endless, and is here from the Purpose, having only undertaken to consute the vile Imputation of Illegitimacy formerly laid upon it, and

now lately reviv'd.

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The first Broacher of it was Hestor Boetius, who flightly names it, through Ignorance, upon some finister Report, there being no ancient Record to prove any fuch thing; and he writing at a Time when the Spirit of Rebellion began to prevail, and about 200 Years after the Days of King Robert here spoken of. Besides that Writing at Aberdeen, remote from the Records, which might have better inform'd him, he had not the Opportunity of being undeceiv'd; and Holling shed, in his Catalogue of Writers of Scotland, tells us, His Style in many Parts goeth beyond the Truth of Times, Places and Persons, in the Scotish History. Buchanan laid hold of and improv'd this Mistake of Boetius with the utmost Malice, as being an invetetate Enemy to Monarchy, and wretched Slanderer of the Stuart's Family; but being to speak of him hereafter, I shall here only add the afore-cited Holling shed's Character of him, in the abovemention'd Catalogue of Scotch Writers, which runs thus: George Buchanan, an Irish Scot, greatly learned, but many times maliciously affected, and that so vehemently, as that he would not forbear, in the highest Degree of Malice, to upbraid and backbite every Person and Nation, which had offended him, as may appear by his immodest Speeches, not beseeming a Man of his Learning, &c.

The last who has had the Presumption to defame the Royal reigning Family with this false Charge of Bastardy, is an Anonymous Writer in a scandalous Pamphlet of Libel, first call'd, Vox Populi Vox Dei, and in another Edition, The Judgment of whole Kingdoms and Nations, concerning the Rights, Power and Prerogative of Kings, and the Rights, Privileges and Properties of the People, &c. The said Paper is so sull of Falshoods, Absurdities, and Scandal, that any Man of Sense would believe it unworthy the least Regard; and yet the Publisher in his last Edition boasts of having that the Publisher in his last Edition boasts of having that the Publisher in his last Edition boasts of having that the publisher in his last Edition boasts of having that the publisher in his last Edition boasts of having that the publisher in his last Edition boasts of having the publisher in

less than y Months, which is a singular Testimony of the Ignorance of the People, and of the great Industry us'd to stir up the Multitude to cast off all Obedience to Superiors, and to disrespect and contemn the ruling Family; in which Particular he may well vye with the Insamous Sir Edward Peyton, who in the Year 1652, under the Usurper Oliver Cromwel, spit all the Venom his dull Brain could vent against the same Family. To come to the Point, this present Desamer of crown'd Heads delivers himself thus, in his aforemention'd Pamphlet, call'd, The Judgment of whole Kingdoms and Nati-

ons, &c. p. 22. § 53.

In North Britain all the Race of the Stuarts, after Robert the First, had no other Title to the Crown of Scotland, but by Ast of Parliament against the Legitimate and Right Line: For the faid Robert baving bad three Sons and one Daughter by a Concubine, named Elizabeth More, whom he afterwards marry'd to one Grifford, bimfelf at the same Time taking in Marriage Euphemia, the Daughter of the Earl of Ross, by whom he had Issue, Walter and David, Earls of Athol and Strathern; and Euphemia, that afterwards marry'd to James Douglas, Son to the Earl of Douglas. The aforenam'd Robert, upon the Death of his Wife Euphemia, and of Grifford, the Husband of Elizabeth More, did marry his former Concubine Elizabeth More; but obtain'd by an Ast of Parliament, that the Children begotten upon her in Concubinage should inherit the Crown, and the Lawful and Legitimate Children by his Wife Euphemia should be excluded.

These are the Words of that Pamphlet in the Place above quoted, for which, the Publisher being, as I am inform'd, under Prosecution, he has omitted them in his last Edition, whereof the Reader is desir'd to take Notice, lest not finding them there he be persuaded that Author is wrong'd. This Libel the said Author in his Title, Recommends to be kept in Families, that their Children's Children may know the Birth-right, Liberty and Property belonging to an Englishman. Whereas the meaning can be no other, than to have those Children brought up in Aversion and Contempt of the Royal Family, kept in Ignorance of the Truth, and instructed in Forgery and Falsisying. But to proceed to the Proof of the Legitimacy of the Stuarts, in an answer to the afore-

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faid Calumny, we shall here produce authentick Records, under the Hands of the two Roberts, Father and Son, Kings of Scotland, and the Perfons concern'd in this Particular; and those Records so substantially verify'd, and so well back'd with Authorities, that there remains not the least Pretence for questioning the Truth and Antiquity of them; unless it be among those who are refolv'd to believe nothing but Scandal, or at least to propagate it, tho' never fo groundless. Our Proofs are taken out of F. Mabillon, De re Diplomatica, which have never before appear'd in English; and being in Books of great Price, and in the Latin Tongue, are not known to all Persons. The Original Charters are set down both in Latin and English, for the Help of those who do not understand the former, and that those who do may be fatisfy'd they have a fair Translation. Somewhat is added out of Sir George Mackenzy's Jus Regium, to corroborate the other. I shall therefore premise no more, but leave those Authors to speak for them-

The Third Part of the APPENDIX to the SUPPLEMENT, to the R. F. John Mabillon's Six Books, De re Diplomatica, or, of ancient Charters, Grants, Instruments, &c.

Containing the Authentick Instruments for proving of the Legitimate Original of the Royal Family of the STUARTS in Great Britain; from the Paris Edition.

The first Publisher's Preface.

E have been prevail'd upon to publish the remarkable and undoubtedly Authentick Instrument of Robert Stuart, King of Scotland, at the Instance of some most worthy Persons, who judg'd it awrong to Literature, and to the Kingdom of Scotland, to suffer it to lie any longer bury'd in Obscurity. For by means of this Instrument a notable Controversy about

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about the Right and Title of the Royal Family of Scot. land is decided; the Birth of Robert the 3d, King of Scots, is vindicated from an unjust Aspersion; the Mistake of Hestor Boetius, and some other Writers of the Scotish History, is discover'd; and above all, the Slan. ders of George Buchanan, a most inveterate Enemy to the Royal Family and Kingly Government, who indufriously, and as it were of set Purpose, endeavour'd to fix a Note of Infamy on that Prince's Birth, are wip'd off, and all the Arguments drawn from his Testimony against the Royal Succession of that Family are fully overthrown. His most virulent History sufficiently te. stifies how much he wrong'd Queen Mary, as does his most pestilent Dialogue, De Jure Regui apud Scotos, how implacable an Enemy he was to Kings; both which Books were condemn'd in Parliament, under King James the 6th, in the Year 1584. However Buchanan impos'd upon very many, and more especially Foreigners; who not being well enough acquainted with the Affairs of Scotland, could scarce suspect him guilty. of Falshood, whom they admir'd for his Art and Elegancy.

But having been often convicted of Falshood and Slander in the History of the Transactions of his own Time, it being an easy matter to discover the Truth elsewhere, he deceiv'd the fewer in that Part, but drew many more into Errors, as to remoter Antiquity, the Memory whereof was more obscure, and particularly in relation to the Birth of King Robert the 3d. Prince was Son to Robert the 2d of the Name, King of Scotland, and first of the Family of the Stuarts that alcended the Throne, from whom is descended the most august Prince and best of Kings, James the 7th. Buchanan, who was a mighty Favourer of the Bafter Earl of Murray, an ambitious Man, who openly aspir'd to the Crown; as also to please the Factious Party, who extoll'd the Authority of the Parliament beyond all Measure, was resolved to leave an Instance in his History of Barstards having attain'd to the Crown by their Authority. To this Purpose, he in his History delivers as a Certainty, the Fable Boetny in a doubtful manner had brought forth, of Robert the 3d's being born out of lawful Wedlock, and chosen King, to the Exclusion of the lawful Issue. He writes, that Robert Stuart succeeding e

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ding his Uncle David, in the Year 1371. was then marry'd to Euphemia, Daughter to the Earl of Ross and the dying foon after, he substituted into her Place Elizabeth More, whom he had been deeply in Love with in his Youth, and had three Sons by her, the Eldeft whereof was John, who changing his Name, was call'd Robert the 3d; and that he prevail'd in the Parliament held at Scone, to have the Children of Euphemia postpon'd, and Age preferr'd before Legality of Birth in the Succession of the Crown. Thus if we may believe Buchanan, the Crown did not descend to Robert the 3d by Right of Succession, but was conferr'd on him by the Authority of the Parliament. This was what the Rebels would be at, who had rais'd fo many and fo great Commotions in their Sham Parliament, on pretence of reforming Religion, as overthrew the Religion of their Ancestors, and was like to involve the Royal Prerogative in the same Ruin. This was the way laid open for Murray to aspire to the Crown; and James Duke of Monmouth follow'd the same Example, when he undertook to invade the Kingdom, after the Death of King Charles the 2d. Had Buchanan had the least regard to his Nation, to his Country-men, or to Truth, he ought to have made out a Matter of that Consequence, which utterly overthrew the Right of Succession, ever inviolably preferv'd, by undeniable Instances and Testimo. nies of Authors. But he did not; nor indeed could he, as having no Witness to produce but Hestor Boetius, whose Authority was altogether insufficient, as being overthrown by feveral Manuscripts and Charters, especially confidering he writ his Hiftory almost 200 Years after the Marriage of Robert the 2d. But those who are acquainted with Buchanan's Behaviour and Disposition, will eafily perceive how much a Stranger he was to that Truth and Sincerity, which is the most commendable Quality of an Historian, as having rather made it his Bufiness to write what was likely than what was true. However, tho' that Hiftory was legally condemn'd, and feveral Times prov'd false by King James the 6th himfelf; yet scarce any Man for near 100 Years undertook to expose that Imposture about the Birth of Robert the 3d; but it was always much applauded by fuch as were fond of Innovation, by Rebels, and by King-killers, as long as no Man dispell'd that extraordinary Ignorance

in Matter of fuch Moment by the help of publick Acts and better Authors. The first that attempted it, with much Honour, was Sir George Mackenzy, the King's Advocate in Scotland, an excellent Civilian, extraordinary knowing in the Affairs of his Country, and most commendable for his fingular Loyalty to his King. Mackenzy publish'd a Differtation, under the Title of, Jus Regium, in his Native Tongue, Anno 1684; with another annex'd to it, call'd, De Legitimorum Heredum Successione. In it he produces the Testimony of Lewis Stuart, a famous Civilian; he also commends several publick; Acts, and Instruments; among all which, we are of Opinion, there is none to compare with that we now publish out of the Archives of our College. It contains the Foundation of a Chaplainship erected in the Church of Glascow, on account of the Dispensation, for contrasting of Matrimony, between the said Robert Stuart, and the late Elizabeth More, whilft living, notwithstanding the Impediment of Consanguinity and Affinity. It is dated the 12th of January, 1364. and subscrib'd among the rest by John Stuart, Lord of Kyle, his eldest Son and Heir, who having chang'd his Name upon his Accession to the Crown, was call'd Robert the 3d. King David, the last of the Family of the Bruces, dy'd, according to Buchanan's Computation, in the Year 1370. and was succeeded by Robert Stuart, his Nephew by his Sifter, who, according to the same Buchanan, was then marry'd to Euphemia, Daughter to Hugh, Earl of Ross. But if Elizabeth More dy'd before the Year 1364. if John had the Title of Eldest Son in publick Acts, and in the Parliament; and lastly, if his Mother was so solemnly marry'd, that it was requifite to procure a Dilpensation from the See Apostolick on Account of Confanguinity; all Mankind must be sensible that all Buchanan's Fable will fall to the Ground, especially confidering it could never yet be confirm'd by any found Testimony, or publick Acts; but on the contrary it is difprov'd by the undoubted Testimonies of Authors and ancient Instruments; as shall manifestly appear by what follows. But it is requisite in a few Words to declare how this Instrument came to our College.

James of Beatoun, or Bethune, Archbishop of Glascow, Nephew by a Brother to David, Cardinal and Archbi-

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shop of St. Andrews, who was quickly murder'd by the Reform'd, perceiving that Churches and Monasteries were every where plunder'd and ruin'd, under the false Colour of Reformation, thought it the wifest Way to secure the Acts and Records of his Church. Being accordingly fore'd to fly in the Year 1560, he came into France, and brought them over with him. He dy'd at Paris, above 80 Years of Age, in 1603. having been Ambassador from Queen Mary and her Son King James the 6th for the space of 40 Years, with extraordinary Reputation. He, in love to his Country, by his last Will left all he had to this College of ours, founded by David, formerly Bishop of Murray, in the Year 1325; for which Reason he is deservedly look'd upon as the fecond Founder of the faid College. Several publick Acts and Instruments belonging to the Church of Glafcow are laid up and preferv'd, partly in this College, and partly in the Charter-House, or Monastery of the Carthusians in Paris, to whose venerable F. F. Priors, the fupreme Direction of the College is committed. Among others of the greatest Note is that Grant of Robert the

2d, above-mention'd,

We did not think fit to publish the said Grant, till it had been examin'd by Men of the greatest Learning, and most skilful in Ecclesiastical Antiquities. This was done last Year, on the 26th of May, several eminent Persons, famous for their Knowledge in Antiquities, being affembled to that Purpose in the Royal Abby of S. Germain des Prez, and in the Presence of some Prime Men of the Scottiff Nobility. All these having view'd the Instrument, and carefully examin'd it, concluded there was not the least Ground to question its Authority and Validity. They acknowledg'd the Antiquity of the Hand, saw the Seals entire, and perceiv'd the Letters, the Phrase of that Age, and the Custom generally then in use, that Dispensations should not be granted without imposing some Works of Piety, such as the founding of Altars, or Chaplainships. Thus the Grant being view'd was unanimoully approv'd of by all their Votes, and five authentick Instruments of it, all of the fame Tenor were made, and fign'd and feal'd by them all; the first for his most Serene Majesty, the King of Great Britain; another for the Metropolitan See and University of Glascow in Scotland, this Instrument ha-

ving formerly belong'd to the Archives of that Metropolitan Church; the third for the Royal Abbey of S. Germain des Prez, in the Suburbs of the City of Paris, where the Meeting of the aforefaid renown'd Persons for examining of the Instrument was held; the fourth for the Scots College at Doway; and laftly, the fifth, together with the Original Authentick Grant, was laid up in the Archives of our College of Panis, to be there preserv'd. A Copy of this Grant shall follow these Obfervations, together with two other Instruments taken out of the Archives of our College; the one of Robert the 2d, after his Accession to the Crown; the other of John, his Eldest Son, about whom the Controversy is, and who, as was above-mention'd, having ascended the Throne, chang'd his Name, and was call'd Robert the 3d.

Thus France, the most ancient Ally of Scotland, and several Times honour'd by having entertain'd that Royal Family, has happily preserv'd, not only the Hopes, and the Hundred and Tenth Heir of the Scotisto Crown, but also a Testimony of undoubted Authority, which clears the said Family from any suspicion of being tainted in its Original.

The Chronology of Robert the 2d, King of Scotland, of the Family of the Stuarts.

THE PARTY.			
A. D.	According to true	A. D.	According to Bu-
1315.	Robert Stuart is born of Walter, High Stuart of Scotland,	1315.	
116 A	Daughter to Ro- bert the 1st, fir- nam'd Bruce.		
1336.	Robert Stuart is cho- fen Protector of the Kingdom.		Buchanan has the fame.
About		About	Robert has John,
1340.	zabeth More, and has by her John, (afterwardsKing	1340.	Robert, and o- ther Children by Elizabeth
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Robert the 3d,)| Robert Earl of Menteth, and other Children.

More his Concubine.

Elizabeth his first About Robert marries En-About 1360. Robert had Walter, David, and other Sons by Euphemia Ross.

Wife being dead, 1360. phemia Ross, his first Wife, and has by her Walter, David, and other Children Gives his Concubine Elizabeth More in Marriage to one Grifford.

fame.

David the 2d, his 1371. Buchanan has the 1371. Unkledying, Kobert, the 2d of the Name, succeeds in the Throne. Queen Euphemia 1373,

or

1374.

Rofs, Robert's fecond Wife, is crown'd.

1374.

Queen Euphemia Rofs Robert's first Wife dying, Robert takes Elizabeth More, formerly his Concubine, for his 2d Wife, and holdinga Parliament. causes his Children formerly begot on her out of Wedlock, to be declar'd Legitimate.

Robert the 2d dies, 1390. 1390. and is without any Opposition fucceeded by John, his Son by Elizabeth More, who is call'd Robert the 3d.

Buchanan has the fame.

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Charta Roberti Seneschalli Scotia.

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Mnibus banc cartam visuris vel audituris Robertus Seneschallus Scotiæ, Comes de Stratherne, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Cum dudum venerabili Patri Do. mino Willelmo Dei gratia Episcopo Glasquenfi fuerit per litteras apostolicas specialiter delegatum, ut super matrimonio contrabendo inter nos & quondam Elizabeth More, dum ageret in bumanis, non obstante impedimento consanguinitatis & affinitatis contractui Matrimonii predifto impedimentum praftante, auctoritate apostolica dispensaret, dummodo duas cappellas vel unam pro arbitrio ipsius Episcopi perpetuo fundaremus, ac dictus venerabilis Pater consideratis on bac parte confiderandis, nobifcum super impedimento pradicto auctoritate qua supra dispensans nobis injunxerit, ut una cappellania in Ecclesia Gla guenfi ad unum certum altare ad pensionem decem marcarum Sterling. Annuatim percipiend. de certis reditibus nostris fundaretur perpetuo, nosque candem cappellaniam sic fundare fideliter promisermus infra certum tempus jam transaclum, nobis tunc per dictum Episcopum limitatum; noverit universitas vestra nos ex causa pramissa dediste, concestisse, & hac prafenti earta nostra confirmaffe pro nobis & heredibus nostru perpetuo DEO, Beate Marix Virgini, Beato Kentegerno & uno Cappellano celebranti & celebraturo perpetuo in Ecclesia Glasquensi prædista decem marcas Sterling. ad Sustentacionem ejusdem Cappellant annuatim percipiend. de annuo redditu quadraginta librarum Sterling. exeunte de terra del Cars Abbath infra vicecomitatum de Strivelyne, & nobis & beredibus nostris debito per religiosos viros Abbatem S conventum Monasterii Santa Crucis de Edinburgh, tenend. babend. & percipiend. annuatim in perperuum eidem Cappellano qui pro tempore fuerit per manus dictorum religiosorum ad terminos Pentecoftes & Sancti Martini in hyeme per porciones aquales in liberam, puram, & perpetuam elymolinam adeo libere, quiete, plenarie, & honorifice, sicut aliqua elymosina per totum regnum Scotiæ liberius conceditur, percipitur, sive datur ; & nichilo minus totum jus nobis competens per cartam infeodationis recolenda memoria Domini Regis Roberti avi nostri, sive obligatorium distorum Abbatis & Conventus, seu quascunque alias evidencias ad compellendos dictum Abbatem & Conventum ad solucionem ditti annui redditus decem marcarum in Episcopum Glalguenlem gue fede mus Stitu abfi

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guensem qui pro tempore fuerit, & Capitulum Glasquense sede vacante, per hanc cartam nostram perpetuo transferis mus, ipsosque & cerum alterum, quantum ad hoc, nostros & heredum nostrorum assignatos, & assignatum facimus con-Stituimus, & eciam ordinamus. Et fi forte contingat, quod absit, quod ditte decem marce annue per dichum capellanum qui pro tempore fuerit, percipi non potterint, tet est dictum, vel ex eo quod dicti Abbas & Conventus folvere noluerint, aut compelli non potuerint ad folucionem earundem, vel ex eo quod nos aut aliquis beredum nostrorum, contra prafentem infeodacionem & concessionem nostram, folucionem dictarum decem marcarum impediverimus aut impediverit, aut nos seu alium vel allos, clam vel palam, dirette vel indirette procuraverimus seu procuraverit impediri; obligamus nos & heredes nostros per omnia bona nostra mo-bilia & immobilia ad solvend, dittas decem marcas de aliis redditibus noftris, ubi Episcopus Glasquenfis qui pro tempore fuerit, vel capitulum ejufdem fede vacante, duxerit eligend. toto tempore quo cessatum fuerit a solucione distarum decem marcarum percipiend, de annuo redditu supradisto, subjicientes nos & beredes nostros jurisdictioni & cohercioni Episcopi Glasquentis, & ipfius Officialis qui pro tempore fuerit, ut ipfi per omnimodam cenfuram Ecclefiasticam nos & heredes nostros compellere valeant ad perficienda omnia & singula supradicta in casu quo defecerimus vel defecerint, quod absit, in aliquo premissorum. Et ultra omnia prenotata nos & beredes noftri predict. donacionem & concessionem nostram de dictis decem marcis annuis percipiendis, us supra de annuo redditu supradicto predictu Episcopo, Ecclesie Glasguensi & Capellano qui pro tempore suerint contra omnes homines & feminas warantizabimus, acquietabimus, & in perpetuam defendemus. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum una cum sigillo Johannis Senescalli Domini de Kyle primogeniti & beredu nostri prasentibus est appensum. Hin testibus, Venerabili Patre Domino Roberto

gillum nostrum una cum sigillo Johannis Senescalli Domini de Kyle primogeniti & heredu nostri presentibus est appensum. Hin testibus, Venerabili Patre Domino Roberto Abbate Monasterii de Kilwinnyne, & Domini Johanne Senescallo fratre nostro Hugone de Egglyntonne & Thoma de Fauside Militibus, Johanne Mercer burgensi de Perth, Johanne de Rose, & Johanne de Tayt Armigerii nostrii, & alin. Apud Perth duodecimo die mensis Januarii, Anno Domini millesimo tricentesimo sexagesimo quarto.

The Place

for the Seals.

This is a litteral Copy as to Orthography, Punctuation, and all other Particulars, inferred for the Satisfaction of such as shall defire to see it in the Original Latin; next follows as litteral a Translation for those who may not understand the Latin.

The Grant of Robert Stuart of Scotland.

TO all that shall see or hear this Grant, Robert Stuart of Scotland, Earl of Stratherne, wishes everlasting Health in the Lord. It having been long fince by Apostolical Letters referr'd to the Venerable Father, Lord William, by the Grace of God Bishop of Glasgow, to dispense by Apostolick Power in the Marriage to be contracted between us and the late Elizabeth More, whilft The was among the Living, notwith flanding the Impediment of Confanguinity and Affinity obstructing the aforesaid Contract of Matrimony, upon Condition we should found two Chapels, or one, at the Will of the faid Bishop, for ever; and the said Venerable Father having taken into Confideration what was to be confider'd in this Affair, and dispensing with us as to the aforesaid Impediment by the abovemention'd Authority, having enjoin'd us to found one perpetual Chaplainship in the Church of Glafgow, at one certain Altar, with a Penfion of ten Marks Sterling to be yearly receiv'd out of some of our Revenues; and we having faithfully promis'd to to found the faid Chaplainship within a certain Time now elaps'd, and then affign'd us by the faid Bishop; be it known to you all, that we for the aforesaid. Reason have given, granted, and by these Presents confirm'd for us and our Heirs for ever to GOD, the Blef fed Virgin Mary, St. Kentegern, and one Chaplain now celebrating, and for ever to celebrate in the aforefaid Church of Glafgow, ten Marks Sterling, for the Maintenance of the faid Chaplain, to be yearly receiv'd out of the yearly Revenue of Forty Pounds Sterling, proceeding from the Lands of Del Cars Abbey in the Vicecounty of Stryvelyne, and due to us from the Religious Men, the Abbot and Community of the Monastery of Holy Rood in Edinburgh, to be held, had, and receiv'd yearly for ever by the faid Chaplain for the Time being, from the Hands of the faid Religious Men at the Terms of Whitsuntide,, and S. Martin in the Winter, by equal

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Portions, for a free, pure and perpetual Alms, as freely, quietly, fully and honourably, as any Alms throughout the whole Kingdom of Scotland is freely granted, receiv'd or given; and nevertheless by this our Grant we do for ever transfer all the Right belonging to us by the Inftrument of Enfeofment of our Lord and Grandfather King Robert, or the Bond of the faid Abbot and Community, or any other Evidences what soever to compel the faid Abbot and Community to the Payment of the faid yearly Revenue of ten Marks to the Bishop of Glafgow for the Time being, and the Chapter of Glafgow upon the Vacancy of that See, and we do make, constitute and appoint them, or either of them, the Asfigns, or Assign of us and our Heirs, as to this Particular. And if it should happen, which God forbid, that the faid ten yearly Marks cannot be receiv'd by the faid Chaplain for the Time being, as has been faid, either by reason the said Abbot, and Community shall refuse to pay, or cannot be compell'd to the Payment thereof. or by reason that we or some one of our Heirs, contrary to this our prefent Enfeofment and Grant, shall obfiruct the Payment of the said ten Marks, or by our felves, or any other or others, shall underhand or openly, directly or indirectly procure the obstructing of the fame; we do oblige our felves and our Heirs, with all our Effates Real and Personal to pay the said ten Marks out of others of our Revenues, wherefoever the Bishop, of Glasgow for the Time being, or the Chapter upon the Sees being vacant shall think fit to appoint, as long as the Payment of the faid ten Marks to be receiv'd out of the aforesaid Revenue shall cease, subjecting our selves and our Heirs to the Jurisdiction and Cumpulsion of the Bishop of Glasgowand his Official for the Time being, that they may by all forts of Ecclefiaffical Censures compel us and our Heirsto perform all and every thing abovefaid, in case we or they should fail, which God forbid, in any of the Premiffes. And besides all that is abovefaid, we and our Heirs will warrant, secure and detend the aforesaid Gift, and Grant of ours, of the faid ten Marks to be receiv'd yearly as above out of the aforesaid yearly Revenue, to the aforesaid Bishop, Church of Glasgow and Chaplain for the Time being, aagainst all Men and Women. In Testimeny whereof our Seal, together with

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the Seal of John Smart Lord of Kyle, our Eldest Son and Heir, is affix'd to these Presents. These being Witnesses, the Venerable Father Lord Robert, Abbot of the Monastery of Kylwynnyne, and the Lords John Stuart our Brother, Hugh de Eyglyntonne, and Thomas de Fauside, Kts. John Mercer, Burger of Perth, John de Rose and John de Tayt our Esquires, and others. Given at Perth on the Twelsth Day of January, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Three Hundred and Sixty Four.

Historical Observations on the Grant of Robert Stuart of Scotland.

R Obert Stuart of Scotland.] He was the Son of Walter Stuart of Scotland. His Mother was Margery, eldest Daughter to Robert Bruce, the first of the Name; for which Reason David the only Son to Robert the 1st dying without Issue, in the Year of our Lord 1370. this Robert Stuart succeeded him in the Throne, in the Right of his Mother; being the second of the Name, and first of the most ancient and noble Family of the Stuarts. The Dignity of the Great Seneschal, or Stuart, as call'd in their Language, was of the chiefest Authority among the Scots, like that formerly of Mayors of the Palace among the France.

This was William the Fourth of the Name, of the House of Rae, Bishop of Glasgow, who took Possession of that See in the Year of our Lord 1335, or 1336. There were several Original Papers or Instruments under his Name, among the Records of the Church of Glasgow; and among the rest two authentick Acquittances for the Contributions of his Diocess to the Pope, in the Years

Concerning contracting of Matrimony.] It positively appears by these Words, and the whole Tenor of this Grant, that Robert Stuart and Elizabeth More were lawfully joyn'd in Matrimony by Virtue of the Pope's Dispensation, long before this Grant was made. There

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can be no Controverly concerning the Dispensation, fince the Instrument of the Foundation of the Chaplainship here spoken of is an undoubted Testimony of it. Which Argument fully confutes the Audaciousness of George Buchanan, who durst presume to write, that this Robert Stuart, and Elizabeth More, were not joyn'd in Matrimony till the Year 1374. that is, ten Years after the Date of the Instrument, which testifies they had been long before lawfully marry'd. But a farther Demonstration of Buchanan's Folly is, that, as appears by the following Words of this Grant, Elizabeth was dead in the Year 1364. and consequently could not be marry'd to Robert Stuart ten Years after. Elizabeth was Daughter to the renowned Adam More, Knight, and Chief of the Family of More, or Moor, ally'd by Affinity and Confanguinity to the most potent Race of the Stuarts, as most evidently appears by this Instrument.

Of John Stuart, Lord of Kyle, our first begotten Son and Heir.] Thus in the Year 1364. John was publickly cail'd Robert's Lawful Son and Heir. For it is plain, by what will be faid below, and needs no farther Proof; that the Title of first begomen, and Heir, was never given in publick Instruments to any born out of lawful Wedlock. Buchavan therefore in this, as well as in other Things, falfely writes, that he was unlawfully begotten by Robert in his youthful Years upon Elizabeth, but afterwards legitimated by the subsequent Marriage of his Parents. But the more evidently to discover, how ignorantly, or rather impudently this Author, a most inveterace Enemy to all Kings, and Kingly Government, durst presume to asperse this Prince's Birth, we have thought it requifite to discuss the whole matter somewhat more accurately.

All Buchanan's Fiction seems to be contain'd under these two Heads, 1st. That Euphania Ross was first Wife to Robert Stuart, and that she dying in the Year of our Lord 1374, after having bore him several Children, Robert took to his second Wife Elizabeth More, by whom he had formerly had this John we now speak of, and other Children, before they were marry'd, 2dly. That John was not declar'd legitimate, or legitimated, and made capable of succeeding him any otherwise than by this last Marriage of Robert and E'ran-

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beth, and an Act pass'd by the Three Estates in Parliament.

The Falshood of the first Affertion is thus demonstrared. In the first Place it has been made appear above, that Robert and Elizabeth were marry'd long before the Year 1364; it follows therefore that Elizabeth was Rebert's first Wife, and not Euphemia. Next it manifestly appears, by what has been faid, that Elizabeth was dead before the Year 1364; therefore she could not be the second Wife in the Year 1374. Laftly, that renown'd Person Lewis Stuart, Advocate to King Charles the 1st of Great Britain, in a certain Schedule written with his own Hand, which the worthy Sir George Mackenzy, who was also the King's Advocate, inserts in his Book entitled, Jus Regium, testifies, that he found above twenty Records in the Archieves of the Castle of Edinburgh, which make it as clear as the Sun, that Elizabeth was Ro. bert's first Wife, and Euphemia, or Euphania Ross the fecond. And thus much as to the first Head of Buchanan's Account.

The Arguments are of no less Force for confuting the other Part of the Fable, wherein Buchanan affirms, that John Stuart was legitimated, or declar'd legitimate, and capable of the Succession, by Virtue of the Marriage of Robert and Elizabeth, contracted in the Year 1374. and the Act of the Three Estates in Parliament

held that same Year.

First, This Marriage of Elizabeth, who was dead ten Years before, is altogether abfurd; and consequently the Legitimation grounded on it is fictions.

Secondly, There is not the least Memorial to be found of this Act of Parliament among the Records of the Nation, which are preserved with the greatest Exactness imaginable; notwithstanding all the publick Acts have been examined by Men extraordinary well versed in those Affairs. Among others the noble Sir John Hayes, Knight, Custos Rotulorum, or Keeper of the Records under Charles the 1st, King of Great Britain, being by him commanded strictly to search all Acts of Parliament, found all quite contrary, and so reported it to the King. Besides the aforemention'd Lewis Stuart, the King's Advocate in the same Reign, commended by George Mackenzy, p. 47. of the

the aforesaid little Book, having carefully examin'd the Records of the Kingdom, manifestly convicted Bucha. nan's Relation of Falshood. We give here his own In the Words, because the Testimony of so great a Man is of London mighty moment in this Case. Buchanan (says he) in Edition of hu 9th Book, in the Life of Robert the 2d, affirms, that 1684. I Euphania, or Euphemia Ross, Daughter to the Earl of Ross, find this was first Wife to Robert the 2d; and that after her Death Quotation, he took Elizabeth More, by whom he had before three Sons, at P. 192. and was marry'd to her, and appointed her Sons Heirs to the Crown, as the eldest of them afterwards succeeded him. Which, how false it is, plainly appears by the Records kept in the Castle of Edinburgh; where there are Still extant the Alts of two Parliaments, subscrib'd by the Hands of the Clergy, Prelates, Nobles, Barons, and other Estates of Parliament, and confirm'd with their Seals, by which Elizabeth More is acknowledg'd to have been the first Wife, and Euphania Ross the fecond; and the Succession of the Throne is entail'd upon the Children of Elizabeth More as true Heirs, and after them upon the Children of Euphania Ross. There are also in the same Place several Records extant, made by David, their great Uncle, for several Lands, to John, the eldest Son of his Nephew Robert, whilft Euphania Ross was still living; as also to David, eldest Son to Euphania Ross, when he only calls Son to his Nephew Robert; which he would not have done, if Elizabeth More bad not been first marry'd to bis Nephew Robert. Nay, I have found above twenty Records in the Archieves, and left them there, by which it appears as clear as Day, that Elizabeth More was the first Wife, and Euphania Rols the second. For beyond all Controversy, Elizabeth More's Children were elder than the Children of Euphania Ross. Thus far he; by which all Men must perceive, that the Act of Parliament mention'd by Buchanan must be fictitious.

Thirdly, John was look'd upon as his Father's lawful Son, and capable of succeeding him before the Year 1374. in which Buchanan places the Marriage of Robert and Elizabeth, and the said John's Legitimation. This appears by publick Instruments, by which he is before his Father's Accession to the Crown nam'd his Father's eldest Son and Heir; and during his Father's Reign he has those Titles given him, which belong to none but to the lawful and undoubted Heir of

the Crown.

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We have already feen John stil'd his Father's eldest Son and Heir in Robert's Charter, we here speak of. But the Title of cldeff Son and Heir, is never given to a Bastard, as was above observ'd, by that most knowing Person in the Laws of Scotland, Lewis Studit. Another Charter of the same Robert Stuart, dated in the Year 1365. and recommended by Sir George Mackenzy, in This Quo-his Book, entitul'd, Jus Regium, p. 51. runs thus, Rotation in bertus Senescallys Scotiæ Comes de Strathern, & Johannes the Edition Senescallus primogenitus & beres ipsius, Dominus Baronia de above is at Kyle, &c. That is, Robert Stuart of Scotland, Earl of Strathern, and John Stuart bis eldeft Son and Heir, Lord of the Parony of Kyle, &c. In another Charter of King David the 2d, Uncle and Predecessor to Robert Stuart, commended by the same Sir George Mackenzy, the Witnesses at the Bottom, according to the ancient Custom are set down in this Order, Robertus Senescallus Comes de Strathern nepos noster, Johannes Senescallus Comes de Carrick filius suus Primogenitus & heres, Thomas Comes de Mar, &c. That is, Robert Stuart, Earl of Strathern, our Nephew, John Stuart, Earl of Carrick, his eldest Son and Heir, Thomas Earl of Mar, &c. These three

given him, which at that Time belong'd to none, but the fole undoubted Heir of the Crown.

These Titles were, The King's eldest Son, Earl of Carrick, and Stuart of Scotland. In Robert's Charter, dated the first Year of his Reign, and of Christ 1371. on the 4th of December, which being Authentick, is preferv'd in the Archieves of the aforesaid Scots College in Paris, with the great Seal of Scotland hanging to it, the Witnesses at the Bottom stand in this Order, Testibus Venerabili Patre Willielmo Episcopo Santi Andrea, Johanne primogenito nostro, Comite de Carrick, & Senescallo Scotia, Roberto Comite de Meneteth, &c. That is, Witneffes, the venerable Father, William, Bifaop of St. Andrews, John our eldest Son, Earl of Carrick, and Stuart of Scotland, Robert, Earl of Meneteth, &c. This Robert was Brother to John, by the fame Mother Elizabeth, who, Buchanan falfly fays, was created Earl of Meneteth, or Fife, in the Year 1374. upon occasion of the fictitious Legitimation, as also his Brother John, only then, and upon the same Occasion, Earl of Carrick.

Charters were writ before Robert's Accession to the

Crown; and during his Reign John has those Titles

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There is extant in the Archieves of the fame College. another Charter of the same John dated at Dundonewald. the 17th of December, this fame first Year of his Father's Reign, and of Christ 1371. The faid Charter begins thus, Universis ad quorum notitiam præsentes Litteræ pervenerint, Johannes primogenitus Roberti Dei Gratia Regis Scottorum, illustris Comes de Carric, & Senescallus Scotia, &c. That is, To all those to whose Knowledge these Presents shall come, John eldest Son to Robert, by the Grace of God King of Scots, illustrious Earl of Carrick, &c. To this Charter hangs the faid John's Seal entire, made in red Wax upon green, and being a Fesse Checkie, with a Lion passant in chief. But the Seal he us'd when a private Man, has only the Feffe Checkie, being the proper Arms of the private Family of the Stuarts; whereas the Seal he made use of in this Charter, when his Father was King, and he Heir to the Crown, has the Lion passant added to the Fesse Checkie, which was the private Coat of the Family. For these were the Arms belonging to the Heir of the Crown, who added the Lion, being the National Arms of Scotland, to the Coat of the Family.

There is an authentick Instrument in the Archieves of the Castle of Edinburgh, dated the same Year, 1371. and the first of the Reign of King Robert the 2d, made on account of the Oath of Fidelity by all the Estates of the Kingdom in Parliament, to the said Robert the 2d, and John (alias Robert) his eldest Son, and lawful Heir to the Kingdom, with the Seals of the Three Estates of the Kingdom hanging to it. Which Instrument Sir This Que-George Mackenzy says, he look'd into himself, p. 49. of tation is in the abovemention'd Book. And he farther assirms, he the Edition had in the same Archieves of the Kingdom seen several above-

other Charters dated this same Year, 1371. in which mention'd, John is after the same manner call'd, eldest Son, Earl at p. 194. of Carrick, and Stuart of Scotland.

Thus it appears to be most false that is related by Buchanan, that this John was created Earl of Carrick by his Father, and declar'd lawful Son to his Father, and capable of succeeding him in the Throne, in the 3d Year of his Father's Reign, and of Christ, 1374.

Lastly, There is not so much as one Word of that sictitious Legitimation, and Act of Parliament, or of all this invented Fable-of Buchanan, and some later Writers,

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in the Manuscript Author of the History of Scotland, that is in the Library of our College at Paris. Which Argument, tho' negative, as they call it, seems to be of great Moment in this Case; this Author having been born, as he himself testifies, fol. 179. in the Year 1386, or 1387. in the Reign of Robert the 2d, and was almost an Eye-witness to what pass'd; and us'd to insist upon the smallest Matters that regard the Genealogy of

our Kings.

Befides, it appears by this Author, that John, upon the Death of his Father Robert, was own'd King, and crown'd without any Disturbance. We will give his own Words, lib. 33. cap. 1. fol. 182. In sequenti Vigilia Assumptionis nostræ Dominæ, Die videlicet Dominica, Anno Domini, 1390. Johannes primogenitus Roberti II. Regis Defuncti, Comes de Carrick, apud Sconam regio more coronatus est; ubi de consensu Stamum vocatus est abbine Robertus III. In crastino sponsa sua Domina Annabella de Drummond (ejusdem illustrissime familia Princeps est Jacobus Drummond, Comes de Perth, magnus Scotia Cancellarius) Domina præclarissima diademate Regio insignita eft. In die vero Martis proximo seguenti Rex Fidelitatem & bominium sumpsit suorum liegiorum. That is, On the following Eve of the Assumption of our Lady, viz. On Sunday in the Year 1390. John, eldest Son to King Robert the 2d deceas'd, Earl of Carrick, was crown'd at Scone in royal Manner; where, by confent of the States, he was for the future call'd Robert the 3d. The next Day his Wife, the Lady Annabella Drummond (the Chief of that most illustrious Family is James Drummond, Earl of Perth, Lord Chancellor of Scotland) a most noble Lady, was also erown'd. And on the Tuesday following the King took the Fidelity and Homage of his Liege People. By which Words it manifeffly appears, that John was unanimoufly admitted to succeed his Father, and the Oath of Allegiance taken to him by all the Estates of the Kingdom, and confequently by his Brothers by Euphemia, his Father's fecond Wife, and their Relations; which is fcarce to be believ'd could have been done without fome mighty Commotion, had there been any Scruple about the Legality of John's Birth; especially confidering, he was render'd somewhat the more unfit for Government by a Fall from his Horse, and other Infirmities; and that his Relations by the Mother's Side were

were not so powerful as those of his Brothers by Euphe-

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Besides, according to Buchanan himself, the Government was, by reason of Robert the 3d's Inability, by general Consent committed to his Brother Robert, and his Nephew Murdack, successively, without the least

Regard had to the Sons of Euphemia Rofs.

We will conclude these Observations with the Testimony of Joannes Major, formerly a famous Doctor of the University of Paris. He in his History of the Scots, written about the Year 1518. and the antientest of all the Histories of that Nation that ever were printed, peaks thus of Robert Stuart, or Robert the 2d, and his Marriages and Children, lib. 4. cap. 6. fol. 121. Ex Elizabetha filia Domini Adam More tres filios Robertus II. Rex genuit, seilicet Johannem, qui postea fuit Rex (Robertus III.) & Robertum Albaniæ ducem & Alexandrum Buchaniæ Comitem. Postea ex Euphemia Rossenfis Comitis filia Galterum Comitem Atholiæ & Dominum de Brechin, & David Comitem de Straterven genuit. Mortua enim Elizabetha Regina hanc Euphemiam in conjugem accepit & Matrimonii gratia proles legitimatæ sunt. That is, King Robert the 2d had three Sons by Elizabeth, Daughter to the Lord Adam More, viz. John, who was afterwards King (Robert the 2d) and Robert Duke of Albany, and Alexander, Earl of Buchan. Afterwards by Euphemia, Daughter to the Earl of Rois, he had Walter, Earl of Athol, and Lord of Brechin, and David, Earl of Straterven. For after the Death of Queen Elizabeth he took to Wife this Euphemia, and the Children were legitimated on account of the Marriage. Thus he, who besides confirming ours, and the true Opinion of Elizabeth's being dead before the Marriage between Robert and Euphemia, feems farther to have believ'd, that Robert's first Children by Euphemia Ross were born in Adultery, before Matrimony, whilft his first Wife Elizabeth More was still living, and not to have been otherwise look'd upon as legitimate than by the subsequent Marriage. And this, perhaps, was the Occasion of Boetius's Mistake, viz. That he erroneously apply'd that to Elizabeth and her Children, which antienter Historians had deliver'd of Euphemia Ross, second Wife to Robert, and her Children.

Charta Roberti II. Scotorum Regis.

R Obertus Dei Gracia Rex Scottorum omnibus probis hominibus tocius terra fue clericis & laicis falutem. Sciatis nos quasdam litteris Johannis Kenedy de Donnonir Super fundacione & dotacione cujusdam capelle & trium capellaniarum juxta cimeterium Ecclesie Parochialis de Mayboyl in comitatu de Carrick confectus de mandato nostro vifus, lettus, & diligenter inspectus, non abolitus, nec in alique viciates intellexisse ad plenum in hee verba. Univerfis ad quos presentes littere pervenerint Johannes Kenedy Dominus de Donnonir parochiæ de Mayboyl diocesis Gla guenfis salutem in omnium Salvatore. Quia inter alia per que fideles Christiani firmam tenent fiduciam remunerationis eterne prosunt veraciter & maxime oracionum suffragia & opera caritatis; quorum utrumque quis exequitur & complet efficaciter, si ad divini cultus augmentum locum facrum bonorificum de bonis sibi a Deo collatis zelo fidei construit, & ipsum habunde dotat redditibus pro servicio ministrorum. Hinc ergo universitati vestrum notum facio, quod ego Johannes Kenedy prædictus, de austoritate venerabilis in Christo patris ac D. D. Walteri Dei gracia Episcopi Glasquensis, fundavi & incepi quandam capellam in honore & sub nomine B. Mariæ Virginis juxta cimiterium Ecclesia parochialis de Mayboyl in comitatu de Carrick. Verum quia fecundum canones, qui ædificare vult, ante perficiat que ad luminaria, que ad custodiam, & que ad stipendia Ministrorum sufficiant; idcirco ego Johannes supradictus pro me & beredibus meis dono & concedo Deo, B. Mariæ Virgini, omnebus fanctis, ac perpetuo tribus capellanis ibidem divina celebraturis pro Salubri Statu mei, Mariæ uxoris mea, & liberorum meorum, quamdiu egerimus in humanis; & pro animabus nostris cum ab hac luce migraverimus, nec non pre animabus omnium antecessorum & successorum nostrorum, & omnium fidelium defunctorum; decem & octo marcatas terre de terris meis vicinis, contiguis sive annexis Eeclesie de Mayboyl & capella predictes, una cum octodecim bollis farinæ de ficea multura de dista terra percepi consuetæ, ac decem marcas Sterlingorum annuatim percipiendas de terra de Balintlewhane ad duos anni terminos consuetos & quinque marcatas terra de Barrelcleych, & fex marcatas terra de Trenethane, & guinque marcatas terre de Barrelach ad Sustentationem ipfius ecclesie five capelle, unius clerici & trium capeltuam retine Et J quar 05,

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capellanorum, ut præfertur, in liberam, puram, & perpetuam elemofinam, & in dotem præfatæ capelle, sme aliquo retinemento superioritatis sécularis, exactionis, vel demande. Et si dictas terras, annuos redditus, vel corum partem aliquam a dicta capella evinci contigerit, obligo me, betedes meos, & affignatos, & omnia bona mea mobilia & immobilia, & specialiter terras meas de Donnonir, Tonergethe, & de Kylmekelly, ad dotandam dictam capellam, quatenus ab ea evillum fuerit & optentum. Volo etiam quod cujuslibes diffarum capellaniarum in perpetuum, cum vacaverit, prasentacio ad me & beredes meos spellet infra quatuor menses a tempore vacacionis Episcopo Glasguenti, & sede vacante, ejusdem capitulo facienda. Ex tunc enim ad eos devolvenur libera provisio illa vice tantum, falvo mibi & heredibus meis in perpetuum jure aliis, in posterum vicibus presentandis Dictas etiam terras & redditus, si qua onera ordinaria vel extraordinaria, aut consueta servicia ipsis emineant; ab hiis quibus debentur liberabo, aliquin alia terra mea de hujufmodi oneribus plenarie respondebunt. Blada vero distorum capellanorum molentur in molendino med Ronnifre post ma ipsum & beredes meos & de multura ad vas vicessimum quartum. Insuper pro me & heredibus meis promitto, quod cartas confirmacionis tujus meæ donationis dominorum meorum Superiorum, videlicet illustris viri Domini Comitis de Carryck, & excellentissimi Principis Domini mei Regis Scocia, ad finem quod jure alicujus corum prafens mea fundacio in tota vel in parte retractari non posit, meis sumpribus procurato. Si vero contingat, quod absit, me vel aliquem heredum meorum contra presentem fundacionem ipsarum capellaniarum alique unquam tempore in alique venire; oblige me, heredes meos in vigini libris Sterlingorum fabrice Ecclefie Glafguensis & in viginti libris Sterlingorum ad ampliacionem & fustentacionem dittæ capellæ applicandas nomine pænæ, & in dampnis que dictos capellanos qui pro tempore fuerint suftinere contigerit juxta arbitrium superioris corundem persolvend. tociens quociens contrariatum fuerit; fundacione capelle, ejus dotacione, libertatibus, & pænæ continatione nihilominus in suo robere duraturis; subjiciens me & heredes meos in pramissis omnibus & quolibet pramissorum jurisdisti-oni Episcopi Glasguensis, ut ego & beredes mei simpliciter de plano sine strepitu & figura judicii valeamus ad premissa omnia & corum quodlibet per censuram Ecclesiasticam coherceri. Protestor insuper cum recolendæ memoriæ venerabilis Parer Willelmus Episcopus Glasguenfis, ultimo defundut

authoritate litterarum apostolicarum mihi ex causa injunxiffet fundare unam capellaniam perpetuo duraturam, quod una istarum capellaniarum per me fundatarum sic cedat ad exoneracionem meam, quod ad aliam fundacionem eo pretextu non tenear in futurum. In cujus rei testimonium figillum meum, una cum sigillo Domini Gilberti Kennedy. militis filii mei & heredis, ac etiam cum sigillo venerabilis in Chrifto patris, & D. D. Walteri Dei gracia Episcopi Glafguenfis, una cum sigillo communi Capituli ejusdem, ad majorem sccuritatem, presenti littere & uni altere esusaem zenoris est appensum. Quarum litterarum una apud Glafguense Capitulum perpetuo remanente, alia vero penes Capellanos diela capella, per eos in loco quem elegerint cuftodiend. Similiter duarum confirmationum Domini Comitis de Carrick, & duarum Domini nostri Regis ejus dem tenoris quas impetrabo, una Comitis, & alia Regis, penes Glasguense Capitulum; alia vero dua penes Capellanos, ut prefertur, perpetuo remanebunt. Datum apud Donnonir pradictum penultimo die mensis Novembris, Anno Domini millefimo tricentefimo feptuagefimo primo.

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Quas quidem fundacionem & dotacionem terrarum & reddituum predictorum in liberam, puram & perpetuam elemofinam, & in dotem ipsius capelle sic factas, juxta formam & effectum earundem listerarum in omnibus & per omnia pro nobis & beredibus nostris ratificamus, approbamus, & tenore præsentis cartæ nostræ in perpetuum confirmamus. In cujus rei testimonium præsenti cartæ confirmacionis nostræ nostrum præcepimus apponi sigillum. Testibus venerabili in Christo Patre Willelmo Episcopo fantti Andrea, Johanne primogenito nostro Comite de Carrick & senescallo Scocia, Roberto Comite Meneteth, Willelmo Comite de Douglas, Johanne de Carrick Cancellario nostro, Willelmo de Keth Marescallo nostro, Jacobo de Lyndesay, Roberto de Erskyne, & Hugone de Eglyntona Militibus. Apud Dundonevald quarto die mensis Decembris, anno regni nostri primo.

The Place for the two great Seals,

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Charta Johannis Comitis de Carrick & Seneschalli Scotia.

Actuation in gain book incorrect ordered a technical I Niversis ad quorum noticiam presentes littere pervenerint Johannes primogenitus Roberti Dei gracia Regis Scottorum illustris, Comes de Carrick, & Senescallus Scociæ, falutem. Cum dilectus & confanguineus nofter Johannes Kennedy Dominus de Donnonir quamdam capellam in bonore Beate Marie Virginis juxta cymiterium Ecclesie parochialis de Maboy He in comitatu nostro de Carrick confrukerit ad suftentacionem trium capellanorum & unius cleriei ibidem perpetuo divina celebratur. Necessariam, quam redditibus & poffessionibus subscriptis detavit, videlicet de decem & odo marcatis serve contigue & vicina five annexe diffa Ecclefia de Maboylle & capella pradiffe, una cum octodecim bollis farina de sicca multura de dulla terra percipi consueta, ac decem marcis Sterlingorum annuatim percipiende de terra de Balinclenwhane ad duos anni terminos consuetos, & quinque marcapas terra de Barrecleych, & fex marcatas terra de Trenechane, & quinque marcatas terre de Barrelach in liberam, puram, & perpetuam elemofinam 3 noveritis nos, didas concestiones & donaciones five findotaciones prædictis capelle & capellanis ac clerico concessis, ratificasse, approbasse, & pro nobis & heredibus nostris in perpesuum confirmasse in omnibus & per omnia forma pariter & effettu, adeo libere & quiete, integre & honorifice, prout id cartis five litteris diffi Johannis inde factis & concessis plenius continetur. In cujus vei testimenium sigillum nostrum prasentib. fecimus apponi. Apud Dondonald in festo beati Johannis Evangelista, Anno Domini millesimo tricentesimo supruagesimo primo, Hiis testibus nobilibus viris Dominis Willelmo de Conyngham Domino de Kilmauris, Hugone de Eglinton Domino de Ardreffane, Johanne de Lyndesay Domino de Thuriston, Johanne Walays Domino de Ricardton, Duncano Walays Militibus, Andrea de Conyngham, Andrea More, Johanne Tayt, & multis aliis relative of me, May my Wile, and rev Child

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The Place for the Seals.

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The Charter of Robert the 2d, King of Scots.

Pobert, by the Grace of God King of Scots, to all good Men of all his Land, Clergy or Lairy, greeting. Be it known to ye, that we have fully underflood certain Letters of John Kennedy of Donnonir, made on account of the Foundation and Endowment of a certain Chapel and three Chaplainships, by the Churchyard of the Parish Church of Mayboyl, in the County of Carrick, which have by our Command been view'd, read, and carefully examin'd, being no way eraz'd or deprav'd, and are in these Words. To all to whom these Presents shall come, John Kennedy, Lord of Donnonir, of the Parish of Moyboyl, in the Diocess of Glasrow, wisheth Health in the Saviour of all Men. Foralmuch as the Suffrages of Prayers and Works of Charity are truly advantageous among the other things thro' which faithful Christians have a settled Faith of evernal Reward; both which he effectually performs and accomplishes, who with a faithful Zeal builds a facred ho. nourable Place for the Increase of Divine Worship out of the Estate bestow'd on him by God, and sufficiently endows it with Revenues for the Service of the Miniflers. For this Reason I make known to you all, that I John Kennedy aforesaid, by the Authority of the Venerable Father in Christ, and Lord Walter, by the Grace of God Bishop of Glasgow, have founded and begun a certain Chapel in Honour and under the Invocation of the Bleffed Virgin Mary, by the Church-yard of the Parish Church of Mayboyl, in the County of Carrick. But in regard that according to the Canons, he who defigns to build, is before he finishes to provide as much as is requifite for Lights, Attendance, and the Stipends of the Ministers; therefore I John aforesaid do for my felf and my Heirs give and grant to God, the Bleffed Virgin Mary, all the Saints, and for ever to three Chaplains, who are there to perform Divine Service for the Prosperity of me, Mary my Wife, and my Children, as long as we shall be in this World, and for our Souls when we shall depart this Life, as also for the Souls of all our Predeceffors and Successors; and of all Faithful departed, eighteen Marc Lands of my Lands neighbouring bo an of an

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bouring, contiguous, or annex'd to the Church of Mayboyle and Chapel aforesaid, together with eighteen Measures of dry ground Meal of the usual Product of that Land, and ten Marks Sterling to be yearly receiv'd of the Lands of Balinclewhane at the two usual yearly Terms, and five Marc Lands of the Land of Barrecleych, and fix Marc Lands of the Land of Tranethane, and five Marc Lands of the Land of Barrelach, for the Maintenance of the faid Church or Chapel, one Clerk and three Chaplains, as abovesaid, for a free, pure, and perpetual Alms, and for endowing of the faid Chapel, without any Referve of Secular Superiority, Exaction, or Demand. And if the said Lands, yearly Revenues, or any part of them, shall happen to be diverted by Course of Law, I do oblige my felf, my Heirs and Affigns, and all my Estate, real and personal, and especially my Lands of Donnonir, Tonergethe, and Kylmikelly, to endow the faid Chapel, as far as shall be diverted and obtain'd from it. It is also my Will, that the Presentation of every one of the said Chaplainships, when vacant, shall belong to me and my Heirs, for four Months after the Time of its being so vacant, to be made to the Bishop of Glasgow, and upon the Vacancy of that See to its Chapter; for from that Time forward the free supplying of it shall devolve to them only for that Time, faving to my felf and my Heirs for ever, the Right of presenting at other Times for the future. I will also discharge the said Lands and Revenues, if there be any ordinary or extraordinary Incumbrances, or usual Services on them, from those to whom they are due, or otherwise other Lands of mine shall fully answer for all such Incumbrances. The Corn of the faid Chaplains shall be ground in my Mill at Ronnifre, after me, and my Heirs, and the 24th Part shall be taken for grinding. I do farther promise for my felf and my Heirs, that I will at my own Cost procure Charters of Confirmation of this my Gift of the Lords my Superiors, viz. of the illustrious Person, the Lord Earl of Carrick, and of the most excellent Prince my Lord the King of Scotland, to the end that my prefent Foundation may not in the whole or in part be infring'd by the Right of either of them. But if it shall happen, which God forbid, that I, or any of my Heirs, should at any Time, in any way, act contrary to this prefent Foundation of the said three Chaplainships; I do

oblige my felf and my Heirs to pay the Sum of twenty Pounds Sterling for the Repairs of the Church of Glas. gow, and the Sum of twenty Pounds Sterling to be ap. ply'd to the enlarging and maintaining of the faid Chapel, as a Penalty, and to make good the Damages the faid Chaplains for the Time being shall happen to suffain, according to the Judgment of their Superior, as often as any Thing shall be done contrary to this; the Foundation of the Chapel, its Endowment, Liberties, and the Continuance of the Penalty, being nevertheless to continue in their full Force; Subjecting my self and my Heirs in all and every of the Premises to the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Glasgow, that I and my Heirs may be absolutely and plainly, without any Noise or Form of Trial, becompell'd to the Performance of all and every the Premises by Ecclesiastical Censure. I do farther protest, that whereas the venerable Father William Bi-Thop of Glasgow, of worthy Memory, lately deceas'd, did by the Authority of Apostolick Letters, upon a Caufe, enjoin me to found one Chaplainship for ever, one of these Chaplainships by me founded shall go to the discharging of me, that I may not be oblig'd to another Foundation hereafter on that Pretence. In Testimony whereof my Seal, together with the Seal of the Lord Gilbert Kenedy, Knight, my Son and Heir, as also the Seal of the venerable Father in Christ, and Lord Walter, by the Grace of God Bishop of Glasgow, together with the common Seal of that Chapter, is for the greater Security appended to this present Deed, and to another of the fame Tenor: Of which Deeds one being for ever left with the Chapter of Glasgow, the other is to be kept by the Chaplains of the faid Chapel in the Place they shall make choice of. In like manner of two Confirmations of the Lord Earl of Carrick, and two of our Lord the King of the fame Tenor, which I will obtain; one of the Earl's, and one of the King's, shall for ever remain with the Chapter of Glafgow, and the other two with the Chaplains; as is abovefaid. Given at Donnonir aforesaid, on the last Day save one of the Month of November, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Three Hundred and Seventy One. South any I ame, many was a second with the

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The which Foundation and Endowment of Lands aforesaid so made as a free, pure, and perpetual Alms. and for endowing of the faid Chapel, according to the Form and Effect of the same Deed, we do in all Things. and to all Purposes, for our selves and our Heirs, ratify, approve, and by this our present Charter for ever confirm. In Testimony whereof wethave order'd our Seal to be affix'd to this our present Charter of Confirmation. Witnesses, the venerable Father in Christ, William Bi-Thop of St. Andrews, John our eldeft Son, Earl of Carricks and Stuart of Scotland, Robert Earl of Moneteth, William Earl of Douglas, John Carrick our Chancellor, William Keth our Marshal, James Lyndesay, Robert Erskyna, and Hugh Eglynton, Knights. Given at Dundenowald the fourth Day of the Month of December, in the first Year of our Reign.

The Place for the two Great Seals

The Charter of John Earl of Carrick, and Stuart of Scotland.

TO all those to whose Knowledge these Presents shall come, John, eldeft Son to Robert, by the Grace of God King of Scots, Earl of Carrick, and Stuart of Scotz land, Greeting. Whereas our well-beloved Kinfinan John Kenedy, Lord of Donnonir, has built a Chapel in Honour of the Bleffed Virgin Mary, by the Churchyard of the Parish Church of Mayboyle, in our County of Carrick, for the necessary Maintenance of three Chaplains and one Clerk, there for ever to perform Divine Service, which he has endow'd with the under-written Revenues and Poffessions, viz. with eighteen Marc Lands of Land contiguous, and neighbouring to, or annex'd to the faid Church of Mayboyle, and the Chapel aforesaid, together with eighteen Measures of Meal dry-ground, of the usual Growth of the said Land, and ten Marks Sterling to be yearly receiv'd of the Land of Balinelenwhane, at the two usual Times of the Year, and five Marc Lands of the Land of Barrecleych, and fix Mare Lands of

the Land of Tranethane, and five Marc Lands of the Land of Barrelach, for a free, pure, and perpetual Alms: Be it known to ye, that we ratify'd and approv'd, and for our selves and our Heirs have for ever confirm'd the faid Grants or Donations and Endowments, granted to the faid Chapel, and Chaplains, and Clerk, in all Points, and to all Purposes, in Form and Effect, as freely and quietly, wholly and honourably, as is more fully contain'd in the Deeds or Letters of the faid John thereupon made and granted. In Testimony whereof we have caus'd our Seal to be appended to these Presents. Given at Dondonal, on the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Three Hundred and Seventy one. These being Witnesses, the noble Persons the Lords William Conyngham Lord of Kilmauri, Hugh Eglynton Lord of Ardressane, John Lyndesay Lord of Thuriston, John Walays Lord of Ricardton, Duncan Walays Knights, Andrew Conyngham, Andrew More, John Tayt, and many others.

The Place for the Scal

The Instrument of Renowned and most Learned Men, concerning the Charter of Robert Stuart of Scotland.

W E whose Names are underwritten, being desir'd by that worthy Person, Lewis Innese, Almoner to the Queen of Great Britain, and Head of the Scots College in the University of Paris, to meet in the Royal Monastery of Saint Germain dez Prez, in this City of Paris, there to view and carefully examine the Charter of Robert Stuart of Scotland, dated at Perth, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Three Hundred and Sixty Four, on the Twelsth Day of the Month of January, which is kept as authentick in the Archieves of the said College lastly restor'd by the most Reverend Father in God, James of Bethune, Archbishop of Glascow in Scotland, who brought away the antient Records of his Church with him into this City, and deposited part

part of them for a perpetual Memorial in the said College, being assembl'd on the 26th Day of May, in the Year of our Lord 1694. did carefully inspect, examine, and with the greatest Exactness that possibly could be, discuss the above-mention'd Charter laid before us by the aforesaid Worthy Lewis Innese, and do testify the same to be antient, genuine, altogether writ in the Character of those Times, no way liable to the least Suspicion of being salse or counterfeit, seal'd with two Seals, which we do also testify are antient and entire. And for the more Certainty of our Testimony and Judgment, we have taken care to have the said Charter here transcrib'd Word for Word, which is as follows.

Here in the Instrument the Charter is literally tranfcrib'd as is above mention'd, which is needless to be repeated, since it is in its proper Place before exactly copy'd, both as to Orthography and Punctation, as was there obferv'd. And after giving the Charter, they proceed in their Testimony thus.

The said Charter was seal'd with two round Seals in Red Wax upon White, one of which has a Fess Checkie, and about it written in legible Letters, Sigillum Roberti Senescalli Scotie. The other has also a Fess Checkie, within a double Tressure of Flower-de-Luces, and about it is written in legible Letters, S. Johanni Senescalli. In Testimony of all which Particulars, we have caus'd these Presents subscrib'd by all our Hands, to be seal'd with the Seal of the said Royal Monastery. Given in the said Monastery, the Day and Year above-mention'd.

* Camillus le Tellier Abbas de Louvois.

Eusebius Renaudot.

Baluze.

F. Theodoricus Ruinart,

Honore Caille.

Nicolaus Clement.

And we Hilarius Rouille de Coudray, Privy Counsellor, and his Majesty's Solicitor in the Supreme Court of Exchequer, being present in this Assembly of most learned Men, and perfectly knowing in Antiquity, and having inspected and examin'd that Charter, did think sit to B b 3 verify ®

verify their Opinion by our Approbation; and do judge no Man can make any doubt of its being most authentick, and altogether free from any Suspicion. In Testimony of all which we have here subscrib'd our own Hand, and caus'd our Seal to be affix'd.

Rouille de Condray.

And we the Earls, Barons, and other Subjects of his Majesty of Great Britain, whose Names are underwritten, were present, whilst the aforesaid Charter was inspected and examin'd by the aforesaid most learned and skilful Men in Antiquity, and we also saw it with them, and found it entire. In Testimony whereof we have put our Hands and Seals to these Presents. Given as above.

Middleton. a Milford. b Dunfermling. c Drummond. d Dunkeld. e W. Mr. Kenmour. f Ch. Flemming. g Alex. Maitland. h Ch. Kinnaird. i All. Macdonald. k James Montgomery. 1 Walter Innes. Jo. Menzies. James Malcolm. Da. Lindfay. J. Cockburn. Charles Edwards. Jo. Living Stone. James Murray. N. Deans. Rob. Arbutbnot.

* Camillus le Tellier de Louvois, Abbot of Bourgueil and Valusant, Canon of the famous Church of Reims, the King's Library-Keeper.

Eusebius Renaudot, the King's Historiographer,

Stephanus Baluzius, Canon of the renowned Church of Tulle, Regius Professor of Canon Law, and Overseer of the Colbert Library.

Honoratus Caille, Lord of Fourny, of his most Christian Majesty's Privy Council, and Auditor in the Court of Accounts.

Nicolaus Clement, Keeper of the Queen's Library,

Domnus Johannes Mabillon, Priest and Benedictin Monk of the Congregation of St. Maur.

Domnus Theoridicus Ruinart, Priest and Benedictin Monk of the Congregation of St. Maur.

a Charles Middleton, Privy Counsellor to the King of Great Britain in the Kingdoms of Scotland and England, &c. b John Drummond, Earl of Milford, Privy Counsellor to the King of Great Britain, Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, &c. c James Seatoun, Earl of Dunfermling, Knight of the Order of St. Andrew, &c. d James Earl of Drummond, eldest Son to James Earl of Perth, the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, &c. e James Galloway, Vicecount Dunkeld. f William Gordon, Lord Kenmour, eldest Son to the Vicecount Kenmour. g Charles Flemming, Brother to John Earl of Wigtoune. h Alexander Maitland, Brother to Richard Earl of Lauderdale. i Charles Kinnaird, Brother to the Baron of Kinnaird. k Allan Macdonald, Chief of the Clan of Glanranald. 1 James Montgomery, Knight, Lord of Skelmorlie. The rest Noblemen, Knights, and Persons of Learning.

These Testimonies out of Mabillon are of such undoubted Authority, that they cannot but fatisfy any unbias'd Person; but because there are many who will rather believe Scandal upon a flight Hearfay, or upon the Report of Malice, than an honourable Vindication, grounded upon substantial Proofs of unprejudiced Perfons and Men of untainted Reputation, we will corroborate what this French impartial Author has, upon a folemn Examination of Matter of Fact, deliver'd, with the full and no less authentick Evidence of Sir George Mackenzie, his Majesty's Advocate in Scotland, above quoted by Mabillon; which Quotation being there of only fome Heads, and very brief, it will be convenient to give the Reader his full Proofs upon this matter. His Reputation has always flood untainted, and being in the Post above mention'd, he had the Opportunity of searching Records, and getting all the necessary Information that Scotland could afford, which Hestor Boetins, the first Broacher of this Slander on the Family of the Stuarts, wanted, and Buchanan, who defignedly improv'd it for his own Ends, as we shall see hereafter. Sir George Mackenzie writ a small Book, entitl'd, Jus Regium, or the Just and Solid Foundations of Monarchy in general, and more especially of the Monarchy of Scotland, &c. To which is annex'd another small Treatise, proving, That the lawful Successor cannot be debarr'd from the Crown. In this last, after bringing his own Arguments to make good his Affertion, he offers the Objections that may be

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made, and solves them. The others not being to our Purpose, shall be here pass'd by, to avoid detaining the Reader upon any thing but what directly relates to the Legitimacy of the Royal Family of the Stuarts. This being the last Objection made against his Arguments, and fully answer'd, we will give in his own Words at large, for the more Perspicuity, as follows.

The last Objection is, That Robert the 2d, King of Scotland, was by an Act of Parliament preferr'd to David and Walter, who, as he (Buchanan) pretends, were truly the eldest lawful Sons of Robert the 2d, because Euphan, Daughter to the Earl of Ross, was first lawful Wife to King Robert the 2d, and she bore him David Earl of Strathern, and Walter Earl of Athol, Alexander Earl of Buchan, and Euphan, who was marry'd to James Earl of Dowglass; after whose Decease he marry'd Elizabeth Muir, Daughter to Sir Adam Muir; not fo much, (as Buchanan observes) from any Defign to marry a second Wife, as from the great Love he carry'd to Elizabeth Muir, whom because of her extraordinary Beauty he had lov'd very paffionately in his Youth, and before he marry'd the Earl of Ross's Daughter, and from the Love which he bore to the Sons whom Elizabeth had bore before that first Marriage, who were John Earl of Carrick (who thereafter succeeded to the Crown by the Title of Robert the 3d) and Robert Earl of Fife and Monteith; he prevail'd with the Parliament to prefer John, eldest Son to Elizabeth Muir, to the two Sons which he had by the Earl of Ross's Daughter, who was (as they pretend) his first lawful Wife.

In which, tho' I might debate many nice Points of Law relating to this Subject, yet I chuse only to infift

on these few convincing Answers.

1. That in a Case of so great moment, Historians should be little credited, except they could have produc'd very infallible Documents; and as in general one Historian may make all who succeed him err, so in this case Boetius, who was the first, liv'd and wrote 200 Years after the Marriage of King Robert the 2d, and wrote his History at Aberdeen, very remote from the Registers and Records, by which he should have instructed himself; nor did he know the Importance of this Point, having touch'd it only transfently, tho' it

has been designedly press'd by Buchanan, to evince that the Parliaments of Scotland might preser any of the Royal Line they pleas'd; and it is indeed probable that King Robert the 2d did for some time make no great Noise of his first Marriage with Elizabeth Muir, lest the Meanness of the Match should have weakned his Interest upon his first coming to the Crown, he being himself the first of the Race of the Stuarts, and having so strong Competitors, as the Earl of Douglas, who claim'd Right to the Crown in the Right of the Baliol, and the Cummings, as Boetius himself observes.

2. King Robert the 3d having succeeded as the eldest lawful Son, and having been receiv'd as such by that Parliament, and his Posterity by all succeeding Parliaments, the Postession of the King, and the Acquiescence of the People, is the most infallible Proof that can be adduc'd for the proving that Robert was the eldest lawful Son, nor have most Kings in Europe, or the Heads of most private Families, any other Proof of their being the eldest and lawful Sons, save that they succeeded

and were acknowledg'd as fuch.

3. To ballance the Authority of these Historians, I shall produce the Testimony of the learned Sir Lewis Stuart, one of the most famous Lawyers we ever had, and who ought much more to be believ'd than Buchanan, not only because he was more difinterested, but because he found upon Acts of Parliament and old Charters, which he himself had seen in the Registers, in which Elizabeth Muir is acknowledg'd to have been the first Wife. [We have given this before in English, quoted by Mabillon, and will here repeat it in Latin, being the very Words of Sir Lewis Stuart, for the Satisfaction of the Curious, as follows.] Buchananus lib. 9. in vita Roberti 2. affirmat Euphaniam, Comitis Roffensis filiam primam Regis Roberti 2. uxorem fuisse, & ea mortua, Regem superinduxisse Elizabetham Moram, ex qua prius liberos ternos mares suscepisset, & eam uxorem duxisse, ejusque liberos regno destinasse, ut postea eorum natu maximus successit, quod quam falsum sit apparet ex archivis in carcere Edinburgensi reconditis, ubi extant separata alla duorum Parliamentorum subscripta manibus Ecclesiasticorum præsulum, nobilium, baronum, & aliorum statuum Parliamenti, & eorum sigillis roborata, quibus Elizabetha More agnoscitur prima uxor, & Euphania Roffe secunda,

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& liberis ex Elizabetha Mora tanquam justis hæredibus regni, successive regnum decernitur, & post cos liberis Euphaniæ Roffe, necnon ibidem carta extant plurima falla per Davidem secundum, eorum patruum magnum ex diversis terris, Johanni filio primogenito, nepoti ejus Roberti, dum Euphania Roffe viveret, necnon Davidi filio natu maximo Euphaniæ Roffe, quem solum filium indigitat Roberti nepotu, quod non fecisset si Elizabetha Mora non prius fuisset nupta Roberto ejus nepoti, nam primogenitus nunquam attribuitur notho ; imo ego plures quam viginti cartas in archivis inveni, ubi etiam eas reliqui, ex quibus sole clarins elucesset, Elizabetham Moram primam fuisse uxorem, & Euphaniam Roffe secundam, nam extra controversiam, liberi Elizabethæ Moræ ætate grandiores erant liberis Euphaniæ Rosse. Which Paper I did get from the Lord Pitmeden, who has himself written some Learned Obfervations upon this Point.

4. I have my felf feen an Act of Parliament (found out by the Industry of Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbet, now Lord Register) having the intire Seals of the Members of Parliament appended thereto, by which the Parliament do swear Allegiance to Robert the 2d, the first King of the Race of the Stuarts; and after him, Roberto Comiti de Carrick, filio suo natu maximo (his eldest Son) in Anno 1371. which was the first Year of his Reign. I have also found out a Copy of an Act of Parliament among the Records of the late samous Lord Re-

gifter Skeen, the Substance whereof was thus.

That a Parliament being call'd at Scoon the 4th of April, Anno 1373. and third Year of the Reign of King Robert the 2d, on purpose to secure the Succession, and to prevent all Disorders that might afterwards arise, in any Part of the Kingdom about Titles to the Crown; It was Enabled by the said King Robert the 2d, with the Advice and Confent of the whole Three Estates, That the Sons then born to the King by the first and second Wives, and their Heirs, should in Order succeed to the King in manner after specify'd: That is to fay, That his eldeft Son by the first Marriage, John Earl of Carrick, should immediately succeed, as had been already declar'd in the preceeding Parliament, and after him his Heirs; And in case he dy'd without Isfue, that his Brother Robert, Earl of Monteith, the King's second Son of that Marriage, should succeed, and his Heirs: Which failing, that Alexander, Earl of Badenoch, denoch, the King's third Son of that Bed, and his Heirs, should inherit the Crown; And in case that fail'd, that David Earl of Strathern, the King's fourth Son by his second Wife, and his Heirs, should succeed: And that failing, that Walter, the King's fifth Son by his said second Wife, and his Heirs, should inherit the Crown. And if it should happen that the said five Sons and their Issue should fail, that then the next in Blood of the Royal Line should succeed. Which Att all the Three Estates did for themselves and their Heirs for ever, solemnly swear to observe, as is more largely to be seen in

the Original it felf.

And if the pretended Defect be true, it was a very palpable, and a very undeniable one, and could not but have unanswerably been known to the whole Nation. And how can we imagine, that the whole Parliament would have unanimously drawn upon themselves so dreadful a Perjury, by excluding the lawful Heir, against their National Oath, in the Reign of King Kenneth the 3d, whereby they swore to own always the immediate Heir; or that they would have entail'd upon themselves a Civil War, by preferring even a questionable Heir, after the Miseries which they had lately then felt, in the Competition betwixt the Bruce and the Baliol; amongst which Seals, the Seal of James Earl of Douglas is one; and how ridiculous is it to think, that he would fit and declare a Bastard preferable to the Brother of his own Lady, and to his own Lady who would have succeeded, if the Brothers had dy'd without Iffue? Which Act of Parliament does also clearly prove, that Buchanan did not at all understand Matters of Fact in this Part of the History; for he afferts, that after the Death of Euphan Ross, the King marry'd Elizabeth Muir, and did by Act of Parliament obtain the Crown to be settled upon Robert the 3d, Son to the faid Elizabeth Muir, upon whom he also bestow'd the Title of Carrick; all which is most false, for this Act of Parliament is dated in Anno 1371. and King Robert the 2d succeeded to the Crown that Year, nor did Euphan Ross die till the third after he succeeded to the Crown, and so not till the Year 1374. and yet in Anno 1371. this Act is past, defigning him Heir to the Crown, and Earl of Carrick; and consequently he was so design'd before the Death of Euphan Ross.

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5. I have feen a Charter granted by King Robert the 2d. when he was only Steward of Scotland, in Anno 1365. and fo long before he was King. In which Charter likewife, John, thereafter King, by the Name of Robert the 3d, is a conjunct Disponer with him, under the express Defignation of the eldest Son and Heir. Robertus Senescallus Scotiæ, Comes de Strathern, & Johannes Senescallus primogenitus & hæres ipsius, Dominus Baronie de Kyle, &c. which Charter confirms to the Abbacy of Passey several Lands dispon'd to them, by Riginaldus More, Father to Sir William More of Abercorn. And I find that David Duke of Rothfay, was always in the Charters granted by his Father King Robert the 1st, call'd Primogenitus, and he was no Bastard, nor can this Defignation be given to a Bastard, as is clear by Covarrubias de Matrim. par. 2. cap. 8. G. 2. num. 4. But how can it be imagin'd that the Monks of Palley would have taken a Right from a Person, as Heir to the Crown, who was not? For this would have inferr'd Treason against them, beside the annulling their Right: Or who could understand better the Lawfulness of a Marriage, than a Body of Churchmen, living in the Time, and very near to the Residence of the marry'd Persons, and in whose Conventual Church, the said King Robert and Elizabeth Muir lie bury'd together.

Item, I have seen in the Registers another Charter granted by King Robert the 2d, in the first Year of his Reign, with the Consent of John, Earl of Carrick, primogenitus & heres Allano de Lavidia terrarum de Whitslet; And another granted by the faid King, I June, Anno primo regni, confirming to Paulo Metire, a Charter granted by the Earl of Ross, Father to Euphan, wherein the faid John primogenitus & heres, is a Witness: And to shew that the faid Euphan was then living, when he was fo defign'd Heir; there is a Charter to her by the King upon the very same Day, of the Lands of Lochleaven. As also, there is a Charter granted by King Robert the 2d, the first Year of his Reign, to Alexander his Son, and another to John Kennedy, of the Barony of Dalrymole, in both which the faid John, Earl of Carrick, is called Primogenitus, and is Witness with the Earl of Douglas; fo that he has been defign'd eldest Son and Heir openly, uncontrovertedly, and in all Papers, and with the Consent of the second Wife and her Relations.

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6. In the Parliament 1372. the said John Earl of Carrick, is design'd to be Lieutenant of the Kingdom, and all the Estates of Parliament swear to own him in his Government, and which Statute is printed amongst the Statutes of King Robert the 2d, Father to the said John, and which must be during the Marriage with Euphan Ross, for she liv'd three Years after her Husband was King, and he succeeded to the Crown, Anno 1371. And this also consutes Buchanan, who afferts, that he was created Earl of Carrick after the Death of Euphan Ross, and it is against all Sense and Reason, to think that he could have been acknowledg'd during her Life, if he had not been the true apparent Heir of the Crown, and a lawful Son.

I have also seen in Fordon's History, lib. 14. p. 73. a Charter granted by King David to the Bishops, with the Consent of Robert his Nephew, and his Son's, giving Power to the Bishops to dispose in Testament upon their own Moveables, which before that Time did by a corrupt Custom fall to the King: In which Charter the Witnesses are, Robertus Senescallus Comes de Strathern, nepos noster Johannes Senescallus Comes de Carrick, filius suus primogenitus & hæres, Thomas Comes de Mar, Georgius de Dunbar, Comes de March, & Gulielmus Comes de Douglas; so that here is not only the Attestation of the Father before he was King, naming John, Earl of Carrick, thereafter King Robert the 3d, his eldeft Son and Heir, but the Attestation of the Grand Unkle, King David, who could be no ways bias'd in the Affair; and here he is rank'd before the three eldest Earls in the Nation, who were then the three first Subjects therein; and it is against all Sense, to think, that the whole Bishops would have sought the Consent of the said John, as apparent Heir of the Crown, if he had not been apparent Heir. I find also, that Fordon calls him, when he is crown'd King, Primogenitus Roberti secundi, nor was there the least Opposition made to his Coronation, nor to the Coronation of Annabella Drummond, his Queen, a Daughter of the House of Stob-hal, now Perth, tho' both the Sons of the second Marriage were then alive. I find also, that Boetius himself acknowledges, that the Earl of March's Son George, being pursu'd for having marry'd clandestinely one of the Daughters of Elizabeth Muir, his Defence was, That he marry'd her when she

was the Daughter of a private Subject, and before King Robert was King, whereas if she had been only a Bastard Daughter, it could have been no Crime to have mar-

ry'd her.

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7. Walter, who they pretend should have succeeded to the Crown, having kill'd his Nephew King James the 1st, Son to King Robert the 3d; he was not only not own'd after the Death of the said King James, as certainly he had been if his Title had been good, and his Right so recent and demonstrable, having so many great and powerful Relations, that his Father was induc'd upon their account to marry his Mother; but yet the said Walter was by all the Parliament unanimously condemn'd as a Traytor, for having conspir'd the Death of his lawful Prince. Nor does Boetius justify Walter's Title in the least, but on the contrary, magnifies the Parliament for their just Sentence; as did likewise Aneas Sylvius, the Pope's learned Legate, who exhorted the Parliament to condemn him.

8. How is it imaginable that King Robert, who had so lately, and after a strong Competition come to the Crown, would have adventur'd to make his Title yet more disputable, by preferring a Bastard to the true Heir, who had so many Friends by his Mother, and who being an Infant had never disoblig'd him.

g. If we will confider the Opinion of Civilians, whom we and almost all Nations follow in the Cases of Succession, we will find, that the said King Robert the 3d, was the eldest and lawful Son of King Robert the 2d, Filius

legitimus, & non legitimatus. For,

I. They conclude, that a Son is prov'd to be a lawful Son by the Affertion of the Father, Alciat. trast. prafumpt. Reg. 1. prasumpt. 2. num. 6. and certainly the Father is the best Judge in such Cases; but so it is, we have the Father owning the said Robert the 3d, to be his eldest Son and Heir, both in Charters and Acts of Parliament, which are the most solemn of all Deeds.

II. Quando pater instituit aliquem tanquam silium suum, which holds in this Case, where the Father institutes and leaves him Heir, and the Parliament swears Allegiance to him as the Heir. Mascard de prob. vol. 2. conclus. 799. And in dubious Cases, the Father's naming such a Man as a Son, presumes him to be a lawful Son, Nomi-

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natio parentis inducit filiationem in dubio, 1. ex fallo, 6. fe

quis Rogatus F. ad trebell.

III. Even Fame, and the common Opinion of the People, do in favour of those that are in Possession, and in ancient Cases prove & filiationem & legitimationem Mascard conclus. 792. but much more, where the Fame and common Opinion is supported by other Arguments, sulgos. consil. 128. Panorm. in cap. transmiss. qui

filiis funt legitimi.

IV. When Writs are produc'd, calling a Man a Son, the Law concludes him to be a lawful Son. Mascard. vol. 2. conclus. 800. num. 15. All which can be easily subsum'd in our Case. In which Robert the 3d is nam'd, not only Son, but Heir, and Allegiance sworn to him, even in the Life time of the second Wife, and her Relations sitting in Parliament; and all this acquies'd in for many hundreds of Years, and the Competitors punish'd as Traytors, by the unanimous Consent of all the Parliament.

I know that Buchanan does most bitterly inveigh against those Laws made by King Kenneth the 3d, as Laws whereby the ancient Right of Succession was innovated, and whereby the Government was settled upon Children, who were neither able to consult with the People, nor to defend them, and whereby those had the Government of the Nation conferr'd upon them, who

were not capable to govern themselves.

To which my Answer is, That in this, Buchanan's Malice contradicts his History; for his own History tells us, that the Scots swore Allegiance to Fergus and his Posterity: and consequently Fergus's Son ought by Law to have succeeded, and not his Brother; for his Brother was none of his Posterity; and therefore those Laws made by King Kenneth, did but renew the old Law, and the Innovation introduc'd in Favour of the Unkle's, was a Subversion of the Fundamental Law to which they had sworn.

2. That the old Law was not abrogated, but was in being by virtue of the first Oath, appears very clear by Buchanan himself, who confesses, that upon the Death of Dorstus, a wicked Prince, it was debated whether his Son should not succeed, juxta Sacramentum Fergusio, prastitum, veterenque esse morem servandum, which acknowledged, that the Succession was even in those Days

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establish'd by Law, by Oath, and by Custom; and after the Death of Fergus the 2d, his Son Eugenius (tho' a Minor) was crown'd, and his Unkle Gremus allow'd to be his Guardian. And Buchanan also brings in Bishop Kennedy, lib. 12. praising this Law as made by Kenneth, a most wise and glorious Prince, with Advice of all his Estates of Parliament; and which rather confirms, as he fays, the old Law, than introduces a new one. So far did Buchanan's Rage against Queen Mary prevail with him, to praise and rail at the same individual Law; and it is observable, that is is very dangerous to recede once from Fundamental Laws, for Buchanan makes not only the Succession Elective, but he makes no difference betwixt lawful Children and Bastards, and excludes not only Minors during the Unkle's Life, but Women for ever.

I shall add nothing to these undoubted Authorities, but leave the impartial Reader to make his own Judgment.

FINIS.

